Rev S L Spaulding

THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, JUN., EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. II. WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1848. NO. 103.

The National Era is Published Weekly, on Seventh Street, opposite the Patent Office.

TERMS.

Two dollars per annum, *payable in advance.*

Advertisements not exceeding ten lines inserted three times for one dollar; every subsequent insertion, twenty-five cents.

BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 18, 1848.

For the National Era.

SKETCHES OF MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

No. 17.—*History of Catholic Emancipation—The Catholic Committee—The Catholic Board—The Catholic Association of* 1823*—Its Power—The Hour and the Man—Daniel O'Connell elected for Clare—Alarm in Downing Street—The Duke of Wellington's Decision—Passage of the Emancipation Bill—Services of O'Connell and Richard Lalor Shiel—The latter as an Orator.*

In giving a brief history of the greatest measure of religious toleration in our times, THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, I shall barely glance at the early efforts of its friends.

Notwithstanding important amendments were made in the Catholic Penal Code, in 1779 and 1793, its remaining disabilities and penalties hung over Ireland like a dark cloud, shutting out the sun of civil and religious freedom. In the latter year, an association, called the "Catholic Committee," was organized in Dublin, to agitate and petition for Repeal. Though its efforts were spasmodic, and it was ultimately rent in pieces by internal divisions, it was the germ of all future organizations having the same objects. In 1810, the "Catholic Board," having in view a like result by similar means, was formed out of the fragments of the Committee. It soon divided into two parties—one contending for unqualified Emancipation; the other being willing to concede to the King a *veto* on the appointment of Catholic bishops in Ireland. The former party was led by Daniel O'Connell; the latter by Richard Lalor Shiel. Four years of controversy among themselves, and collision with the Government, led to the dissolution of the Board, by act of Parliament, in 1814. During the succeeding nine years, the agitation for repeal was frequently renewed; and the contest was characterized by great violence among the politicians in Dublin, and occasional riots and commotions throughout the provinces, Mr. O'Connell being the master spirit of the Emancipators. In the years 1822–'3, Ireland seemed verging towards revolution. The remedies which the British Government prescribed for her political and religious diseases were insurrection acts, coercion acts, suspensions of the *habeas corpus*, capital trials, hangings, and transportation, administered by the batons of the police and the bayonets of the soldiery. During these nine years of discontent, violence, and blood, a few friends in the House of Commons remained true to Ireland, almost every session compelling a division on the question of Catholic Emancipation.

The year 1823 saw a bright star of promise arise on the dark and troubled horizon of Hibernia. The exigencies of the times had healed the feuds of hostile factions among the Emancipationists, and they closed hands in defence of their common liberties. In May, of that year, O'Connell and Shiel, who had long been estranged from each other, accidentally met among the mountains of Wicklow, at the house of a friend. A reconciliation took place, and they resolved to form a league for the deliverance of their enslaved Catholic countrymen. The same month, they organized the "Catholic Association," in Dublin, on the plan of admitting all persons, of whatever sect or party, who approved its objects. It early enrolled some of the first minds in the island, who commenced an agitation which was soon felt in the fatherest corner of the Kingdom, nor stopped till it brought back responses from France, Germany, the United States, Canada, the East Indies, and other distant countries. It made the realm vocal with its orators, crowded Parliament with its petitions, and scattered its tracts over the Continent. O'Connell and Shiel were the life and soul of the Association; the former being its chief manager, the latter its most brilliant advocate.

Undoubtedly some of the transactions of this powerful and almost omnipotent body were of an inflammatory character. But it gave concentration and rational aim to the efforts of the oppressed Irish, and, by exciting the hope of relief, withdrew from them the temptation to illegal acts of violence. The justice of its object, and the contempt which its petitions received from Parliament, ultimately rallied to its standard the whole of the Catholics and an influential portion of the dissenting Protestants of Ireland. Alarmed at its power, the session of March, 1825, after a stormy debate, passed an act terminating its existence. Immediately after the adjournment of Parliament, the Association was reorganized, with a constitution which did not come within the law. At the session of 1826, finding that the agitation could not be silenced, various efforts were made to ameliorate the condition of Ireland. After spending five months in vehement discussion, Parliament abandoned the country to the rage of party spirit, and it was left for the well-directed labors of the Association to preserve it from plunging into anarchy and revolution.

At the general election in the summer of 1826, the friends of Emancipation took the field and achieved some signal triumphs in returning members to Parliament. The Irish tenantry, the "forty-shilling freeholders," who had ever been supple instruments in the hands of the Protestant landlord, to perpetuate his domination and their chains, had, by the labors of the Association, been converted into an engine to overthrow the oppressors. They now voted with the Emancipators.

Canning rose to power in 1827. His professed regard for Catholic relief induced Ireland to wait and see what would come from his ministry. His early death quenched all hope of succor from his administration. After the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts the next year, a struggle for partial relief to the Catholics, which resulted successfully in the Commons, but was defeated in the Lords, only stimulated the friends of Emancipation to take a bolder step. The hour to strike the decisive blow had come, and it brought with it the man.

In 1828, Mr. Fitzgerald, the member for Clare, received a place in the Cabinet, thus vacating his seat in the Commons. He was a candidate for reëlection. The Catholic Association requested Mr. O'Connell to become a candidate for the vacancy, and in his own person seek to establish the right of Catholics to sit in Parliament. He immediately issued an address to the electors of Clare, in which, among other things, he said: "Fellow-Countrymen, your county wants a representative. I respectfully solicit your suffrages, to raise me to that station..... You will be told I am not qualified to be elected. The assertion is untrue. I am qualified to be elected, and to be your representative. It is true that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will, take the oaths at present prescribed to members of Parliament. But the authority which created those oaths can abrogate them. And I entertain a confident hope that, if you elect me, the most bigoted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his King and to his country." He gave a summary of the wrongs of Ireland, and concluded with a thrilling appeal to his countrymen.

The address fell like a thunderbolt upon the enemies of Emancipation. The friends of Fitzgerald would not believe it was the intention of O'Connell to seriously contest the canvass. The speedy arrival of two of his agents in Clare dispelled their doubts. The county was in a boil of excitement. The day of election approaches. Shiel addresses a concourse of electors. His eloquence inspires a wild enthusiasm in their hearts. The time for the arrival of the great agitator himself is fixed. An immense throng hails him, with banners, music, and shoutings. The trial day comes, and the candidates appear before assembled thousands of the electors. Fitzgerald delivers an able speech. O'Connell rises and pronounces a magnificent harangue, which sways the passions of the peasantry as forests wave when swept by the wing of the tempest. A violent contest ensues, and at its close the high-sheriff declares that "Daniel O'Connell, Esq., is duly elected a member of the Commons House of Parliament for the county of Clare."

This unexpected result carried dismay into the councils of Downing street; for they knew that O'Connell was soon to appear in London and demand his seat in Parliament. His fame was no stranger to the place where his person was unknown. His reputation had long ago penetrated every mansion and cabin in the realm. The agitation of the past five years, whose tread had shaken Ireland from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, had ever and anon caused the walls of St. Stephen's to tremble. And now, what seemed so terrible in the distance, was to be brought to its very doors. Parliament was not in session; but it had been announced that ministers would oppose Mr. O'Connell's entrance into the Commons. The declaration drove Ireland to the brink of civil war. The commander of the forces conveyed to the ministry the alarming intelligence that the troops were fraternizing with the people, and their loyalty could not be relied on in the event of an outbreak. All minds not besotted with bigotry felt that the great right for which the Association had contended must be conceded. The Duke of Wellington, then at the head of the Government, saw that the hour had come when either his prejudices or his place must be surrendered. He decided that the former must yield. Parliament was convened on the 5th of March, 1829. On the first day of the session, Mr. Peel moved that the House go into committee, "to take into consideration the civil disabilities of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." After two days' debate, it prevailed. A bill of Emancipation was introduced. Ancient hatred was aroused, and in five days sent in a thousand petitions against its passage. The bill passed, after a severe struggle, and Mr. Peel carried it to the Lords. A fierce conflict ensued, but it was forced through by the Iron Duke. On the 13th of April it received the royal assent, and was hailed with joy by the friends of religious freedom, whilst bigotry went growling to its den.

Mr. O'Connell appeared in the House to claim his seat. Having been elected before the act of Emancipation, the ancient oaths were tendered to him. He declined to take them. After tedious hearings before the Committee of Elections, extending through several weeks, and a powerful address at the bar of the House in support of his own right, his seat was declared vacant. He returned to Ireland, and was everywhere hailed as "The Liberator of his Country." After walking over the course of Clare, he repaired to Westminster, and "the member for all Ireland" took his seat in the British House of Commons.

For this gaeat concession to the genius of Toleration, the age is indebted to the Catholic Association, organized and sustained by O'Connell and Shiel, the Castor and Pollux of Emancipation. No two men were more perfect antagonisms in the prime elements of their characters, and no two more harmoniously blended in the accomplishment of a common object. Each supplied what was wanting in the other. O'Connell was unsurpassed in planning, organizing, and executing, and his unique and vigorous eloquence could stir to its bottom the ground tier of Irish society. Shiel was rich in the highest gifts of oratory, ornate, classical, impassioned, and could rouse the enthusiasm and intoxicate the imaginations of the refined classes of his countrymen. The one contributed to the work, the learning and skill of an acute lawyer, the knowledge of a well-read historian of his country, an intimate acquaintance with all the details of the great question at issue, and business capacities of the first order. The other gave to it a transcendent intellect, adorned with the genuis of a poet, the graces of a rhetorician, and the embellishments of a polite scholar. Both consecrated to it intense nationality of feeling, quenchless perseverance, and indomitable courage. Each yielded to the other the exclusive occupancy of the peculiar field of labor to which his talents were best adapted.

Mr. SHIEL was born in 1791. In his youth, he won a high literary reputation as the author of two tragedies, *Evadne* and *The Apostate*, and some beautiful essays in the periodicals. He early acquired an enviable reputation at the Dublin bar as an advocate. But "the gauge and measure of the man" were known to a comparatively small circle till his splendid oratorical displays, from 1824 to 1829, in defence of the principles and objects of the Catholic Association, made his fame co-extensive with the empire. The result of his services has been recorded. To apply to himself what he so graphically said of Grattan, "The people of Ireland saw the pinnacles of the Establishment shattered by the lightning of his eloquence." The Emancipation bill opened to him the doors of Parliament. He entered its hall in 1831, heralded by a reputation surpassing that with which most orators have been content to leave that field of their triumphs. It is the highest proof of the solidity of his reputation, that in this new arena he increased the brilliancy of his fame, being a marked exception to the rule, that orators who have become famous at the bar, or the hustings, or on the platform, have failed to meet the public expectation on encountering the severer tests of the House of Commons.

Several years ago, I heard Mr. Shiel deliver a speech in Parliament, and I retain a vivid impression of his powers. He seemed the very embodiment of all that was gorgeous and beautiful in the arts of rhetoric and oratory. I had heard Choate, Hoffman, Everett, Prentiss, and Preston, in that style of eloquence in which they excel; he surpassed them all. His sentences rushed forth with the velocity of a mountain torrent, while for an hour and a half he rained down upon the House a ceaseless shower of metaphor, simile, declamation, and appeal, lighted with the brilliant flashes of wit, and mingled with the glittering hail of sarcasm. He belongs not to the best school of oratory, but is master of that in which he was trained. There is no rant or fustian in his speeches, for they are eminently intellectual. Though polished in the extreme, they are pure ore, and sparkle with real gems. His ornaments are lavishly put on, but are never selected from the tinsel and mock diamond mine. His defect is, that he too much discards logic, and revels in rhetoric. In discussing even an appropriation bill, his figures are drawn less from the annual budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer than from the perennial springs of Helicon. He aims to reach the heart, not through the reason, but the reason and the heart through the imagination. He is no more like Brougham or Webster, than a brilliant charge of Murat at the head of his cavalry is like a steady fire from a park of artillery.

As a specimen of his oratory, I subjoin an extract from one of his speeches. In 1837, Lord Lyndhurst declared, in the Upper House, that the Irish were "aliens in blood and religion." Shortly after, Mr. Shiel thus repelled the charge in the Commons. Lord L. was a listener.

"Where was Arthur, Duke of Wellington, when those words were uttered? Methinks he should have started up to disclaim them.

'The battles, sieges, fortunes that he passed'

ought to have come back upon him. He ought to have remembered that, from the earliest achievement in which he displayed that military genius which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and surpassing combat which has made his name imperishable—from Assaye to Waterloo—the Irish soldiers, with whom your armies were filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory with which his unparalleled successes have been crowned. Whose were the athletic arms that drove your bayonets at Vimiera through the phalanxes that never reeled in the shock of war before? What desperate valor climbed the steeps and filled the moats of Badajos? All, all his victories should have rushed and crowded back upon his memory: Vimiera, Badajos, Salamanca, Abuera, Toulouse—and, last of all, the greatest. Tell me, for you were there—I appeal to the gallant soldier before me, (pointing to Sir Henry Hardinge,) who bears, I know, a generous heart in an intrepid breast—tell me, for you must needs remember, on that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance; while death fell in showers upon them; when the artillery of France, levelled with the precision of the most deadly science, played upon them; when her legions, incited by the voice, inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the contest; tell me if for an instant, when to hesitate for an instant was to be lost, the 'aliens' blanched? And when, at length, the moment for the last decisive movement had arrived; when the valor, so long wisely checked, was at last let loose; when, with words familiar but immortal, the great captian exclaimed, 'Up, lads, and at them!'—tell me if Catholic Ireland with less heroic valor than the natives of your own glorious isle precipitated herself upon the foe! The blood of England, Scotland, Ireland, flowed in the same stream, on the same field. When the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together. In the same deep pit their bodies were deposited. The green spring is now breaking on their commingled dust. The dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril, in the glory shall we not participate? And shall we be told, as a requital, that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our life-blood was poured out?"

Though approaching the verge of good taste, conceive of the present effect of such an outburst gushing from the lips of Shiel, the perspiration standing in drops on his knotted locks, his eye kindling with Milesian fire, every feature of his expressive countenance instinct with passion, every limb of his small but symmetrical frame trembling with emotion, his shrill but musical voice barbing every emphatic word!

Since he entered Parliament, Mr. Shiel has acted with the liberal Whigs, has held office under Lord John Russell, and has generally declined the lead of Mr. O'Connell. He stood aloof from the Repeal agitation, though he defended O'Connell, when on trial for Conspiracy some two or three years ago, with the ability and eloquence of his brightest days.

H. B. S.

OBITUARY.

☞ We can bear testimony to the estimable character of the subject of the following short biographical notice.—*Ed. Era.*

NEAR JAMESTOWN, O., *Nov.* 27, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I have just returned from the performance of a solemn duty. With an unusual number of citizens I accompanied our worthy friend, David Munroe, to the house appointed for all living, "*where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.*" His death was on this wise: On Thursday, in good health, he, as usual, filled his place at church. The arrival of the mail being late, he went, after dark, to the post office, and on his return—there being an opening in the sidewalk—he fell the whole depth of the basement story on a floor of rocks. His head received the most fatal injury. It is supposed he had not been long there when his moans were heard, and every possible aid rendered by friends and physicians, but all in vain. He remained nearly speechless until Saturday about 12 o'clock, when, at his own house, he departed this life, aged about sixty-five years.

Our departed friend was a native of Scotland, and resident in Perthshire, and in the town of Cooperangus. Being a man of intelligence, and understanding that there was a settled gospel ministry, according to his views, near Xenia, he embarked, with a small family, for America, making Xenia his point of destination, where he arrived in 1819, and where he spent the remainder of his days.

Being an ingenious mechanic, he was soon established in profitable business, and prospered in worldly things. He was economical and industrious, which enabled him to be liberal in every good work. While he was economical, he was not penurious; and though liberal, he was not ostentatious. As to his living, perhaps no one came nearer the true medium; everything necessary for comfort and decency was freely enjoyed without extravagance; in all this he had an excellent helpmeet. With him there was no want of generous hospitality, especially towards poor strangers. If they were naked, he clothed them; if they were hungry, he fed them; if they fell among thieves, he acted the part of the good Samaritan.

He possessed a good degree of moral courage; and, regardless of popular opinion, he would do right. He was a faithful citizen of his adopted country, and pleased with the *principles* of liberty, but grieved with the *practice of slavery*, and was among the first to associate for its overthrow. Hence he was called an Abolitionist; but, with all the odium attached to the name, he persevered in the use of constitutional means that the yoke might be *broken and the oppressed go free*; and from an intimate knowledge of the facts, certainly no one in Greene county exerted a more successful influence. His purse and his time were always ready in the cause of humanity; and although not a public speaker, yet he could, in a more private way, *open his mouth for the dumb*, and, regardless of pro-slavery taunts, he would *plead the cause of the poor and needy.*

A Clarkson is gone—a Morris is gone—and a Munroe is gone; yet my faith is strong that a sovereign Ruler will raise up other instruments to fill their places; and that the day is not far distant when the jubilee shall sound, and liberty be proclaimed *throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.*

Yours, sincerely,

JAMES MORROW.

For the National Era.

In No. 15 of "Sketches of Modern Reforms, &c," the author says, "All sects have been persecutors in their turn." I would respectfully ask my excellent friend to point out the period in history when Baptists were the persecuting party. They had the power in Rhode Island. I am not aware that on any occasion they used that power against the general principles of human liberty. I hope the brilliant author of the "Sketches" will take occasion to make a correction here, unless he has evidence to support his general charge. I have frequently observed that writers out of the Baptist denomination betray great ignorance of their history. This arises from the fact that Baptists have not heretofore been a literary people, and popular histrians have unfortunately taken but little pains to ascertain their true origin, principles, and progress. Respectfully,

WILLIAM HENRY BRISBANE.

Cincinnati, Dec. 5, 1848.

For the National Era.

THE MAIDEN'S VISION.

In the stilly arbor shadow,
Where the autumn sunshine bland
Flashes o'er the white grape-clusters,
Like the gems on beauty's hand,

Sits a maiden musing lonely,
Musing on the map of life,
Spread before her spirit's vision,
With its turmoil, sin, and strife.

But, o'er all that solemn picture,
Oftenest seeks her eye the place
Where the shadows of the Future
Tremble dimly on its face.

Sees she there a glowing vision—
Truth and Beauty, Love and Peace,
Like the bow from heaven outsmiling,
Ere the tempest-echoes cease.

Drifting from the cloudy Distance,
Comes a godlike form to see—
Labor, with swart brow uplifted
'Mongst the noble and the free—

Labor with brown hand achieving
All that earth to man can yield—
Looking upward, pressing onward,
Never fainting in the field.

From Oppression's shattered dungeon,
Lo, the pris'ners sunward creep!
While the Giant, bound and blinded,
Hideth by the ruined heap.

See! another form of beauty,
Bearing gifts and oders sweet,
"Beautiful upon the mountains"
Fall the stranger's shining feet.

Each wan captive's hand she taketh,
Seraph-lipped she speaks again;
Every ear the burden heareth,
"Ye are brothers, yeare men."

And o'er all a sweet bird singeth,
And the warbler none can see;
But in dreams the trees of Heaven
Are bending in such melody.

Hush thy breathing, careless gazer!
Stay thy footstep wending nigh,
Lest thou sway the web of beauty,
Hung before her raptured eye.

Say not that the bright Ideal
Which her spirit treasures yet,
In this world of doubt and darkness,
Never, never may be met.

Know ye not that aiding angels
Hover round the earnest heart,
Gleams of heaven and hallowed breathings
Of the true Life to impart?

Teaching there the immortal Lesson,
Faith in God and love to man;
Lighting from the Source eternal,
Fires which unseen wings shall fan!

Know ye not the soul illumined
By this free celestial light,
In another yearning bosom
May the sacred flame ignite?

Till the wondrous radiance, spreading,
Fills old Earth's benighted walls,
And, like mists before the dawning,
Error's dusky mantle falls!

Mock not, then, the maiden's vision,
While *one* living spark is given,
While within *one* human bosom
Burns the infinite fire of Heaven.

H. L. B.

Vallambrosa, Ohio.

THE TREASURY REPORT.

This important document is of great length, and, for the convenience of those who do not wish to wade through a dozen columns of details, we make an abstract of it.

The report opens with a statement of the receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1848. The receipts from customs, public lands, loans, and all other sources, amount to the sum of $58,394,701.84; the expenditures to $58,241,167.24; leaving a balance in the Treasury, July 1st, of $153,534.60. These statements, together with those of the estimates for the current fiscal year, have all been embodied in the President's message.

A comparison of the amount of revenue under the present tariff, with that received under the tariff of 1842, is made; by which it appears that the annual average under the present law is said to be $7,007,280.96 more than under the former. Following this, is a long and elaborate argument in favor of low duties, and opposed to the protective system, which the Secretary denounces as "agrarian," and "a war upon property."

The report then goes on to speak of the coast surveys on the Pacific, and recommends that collection districts be established at San Diego, Monterey, Puget Sound, and San Francisco. The immense commerce that is expected to arise between our Pacific coast and the Asiatic nations is referred to, and, for the sake of our commerce as well as our revenue, a number of additional steamships is recommended for use on that ocean, as well as on the Atlantic and the Gulf. The importance of fostering our commerce with Asia is also urged, as it will be the precursor of Christianity among her heathen nations, and in the same paragraph the Secretary refers to the immense wealth that would be added to our commercial population.

Some additional legislation is recommended in regard to the passage of our fabrics across the Isthmus of Panama; and, to prevent frauds on the revenue, the appointment of agents or consuls for Chagres and Panama is recommended.

The Secretary renews his recommendations for reciprocal free trade between the Canadas and the States. Reciprocal and unrestricted commerce between our Republic and Mexico is also recommended, and the prospect held out that it will soon be brought about.

A Branch Mint in the city of New York is again strongly urged upon Congress, and a number of statements are made to show the necessity for one.

The loan of $16,000,000, authorized by the act of 31st March, is referred to, and the amount of premium obtained for it is given at $487,168.66. The public debt for each year, from 1790 down to 1848, is referred to for the sake of comparison, and the result is highly favorable to the present condition of our finances and resources. The public debt at the present time, including the loan yet to be paid in, is $65,278,450.41.

The public lands amount to 1,442,217,839 acres, worth, at $1.25 per acre, $1,802,772,296. Regarding them, however, as worth only 25 cents per acre, their value is $360,554,459.

Some former recommendations, in regard to the Government stocks, bounty land scrip, &c., are renewed. The Secretary recommends that the Department be authorized to purchase, at market rates, any portion of the public debt of 28,000,000, of the act of 28th January, 1847. A purchase of this kind, to the amount of $50,000, was recently made under authority of the Department, by the Collector of New York.

The coast survey has been carried on with zeal and effect in the past year, and important discoveries have been made in the character of the coast and in the various currents. Improvements in the light house system are recommended. Improvements in the standard system of weights and measures are also suggested. A grant of a section of land in every quarter township of Oregon, New Mexico, and California, for purposes of education, is strongly urged.

The gold region of California is referred to, and the establishment of a branch mint at San Francisco is very strongly urged upon Congress. A scientific commission, to make a geological survey of the Territory, is also recommended.

A special report on the warehousing system is promised. In the mean time it is stated that the value of foreign goods warehoused, from August, 1846, to September 30th, 1848, is about forty-four millions of dollars.

Some improvements are recommended in the organization of the Treasury Department, which it is not necessary to describe here. The report closes with an earnest prayer for the continuance of the prosperity that already has so signally blessed us.—*Philadelphia Republic.*

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1848.

SENATE.

SLAVERY IN NEW MEXICO.

Mr. Benton said that a Senator from Delaware [Mr. Clayton] and himself had received a communication from New Mexico, taking into consideration the condition of that country, with the request that they would present it to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. B. then sent to the Secretary a memorial of the People of New Mexico, assembled in convention at Santa Fe, October 14th, 1848, praying Congress to organize a Territorial Government in that country. The memorial contains, among other, the following clauses, viz:

"We respectfully but firmly protest against the dismemberment of our Territory in favor of Texas, or for any cause.

"We do not desire to have domestic slavery within our borders; and, until the time shall arrive for our admission into the Union as a State, we desire to be protected by Congress against their introduction among us."

Mr. Benton moved the printing of the memorial, and its reference to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Clayton seconded this motion, and expressed his intention of laboring assiduously to obtain the organization of a Territorial Government over New Mexico.

The Vice President was about to put the question, when

Mr. Calhoun rose and said he had no objection to the reference proposed; but he desired to express the opinion, that for that Territory, under all the circumstances of the case, to send such a petition to the Congress of the United States, was disrespectful, and most insolent. They desired to exclude from among them the very men who had conquered them. Mr. C., however, could not wonder at its presentation, coming from the quarter from which it had come, upon the floor of the Senate.

Mr. Benton replied with some warmth, and, on behalf of himself and the Senator from Delaware, disclaimed for the petitioners any intention to be disrespectful or insolent. He thought the application of such an epithet entirely gratuitous.

Mr. Calhoun said it was not at all strange that the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Delaware should look upon the petition in that light. He (Mr. C.) looked upon the rights of the people of the Southern States, who were proposed to be excluded from New Mexico. He maintained, as a high constitutional principle, that the right of the South to go there with their property was as unquestionable as their right to hold their property in their own States. The Territory belonged to the United States—to Carolina or Virginia, as much as to New York or to Massachusetts.

Mr. Rusk rose, not to go into a general discussion of the merits of the memorial, and all the subjects connected therewith, but, as a citizen of Texas, to assert her indisputable title to all of the territory of New Mexico this side of the Rio Grande—a title which, upon examination, would be found to be borne out by the laws of nations and the facts as they exist.

Mr. Benton disclaimed any intention to provoke debate at the present time. The memorial presented questions which would occupy much of their time, when they should come up in their place, and there was no necessity for anticipating them. He had simply presented the petition, avoiding a single remark relative to its contents, further than was required by the Parliamentary rules.

But, sir, (said Mr. B.,) it has been assailed, and epithets applied to it. The Senator from South Carolina has said it was natural for me to think of that petition as I do, and natural for him to think of it as he did. Well, sir, the only opinion that I expressed about it was, that it was a petition of right, and respectfully worded and presented; that those petitioners were not subject to the imputation of insolence for presenting it. And now, sir, since it has been persevered in, I will say that the only part of that petition to which the term "insolent" applies, in the opinion of the Senator from South Carolina, is that part which relates to the subject of slavery. I will say that (perhaps without knowing it) these petitioners have used the very words of the General Assembly of Virginia to George III, before the breaking out of the American Revolution. And though George III did not grant that petition, yet I never heard that he said it was inselence in the General Assembly of Virginia to present it.

Mr. Calhoun said he had made no complaint of the manner in which the petition had been presented, but to its matter. The Southern States claimed the right, under the Constitution, to go into any portion of the territory conquered by the arms of the United States, and especially by troops drawn from that portion of the country; and now, to pray for the exclusion of his constituents from that country, was the height of insolence.

After some few remarks, made in an excited tone, consequent upon the misunderstanding of an expression used by the Senator from South Carolina—

Mr. Benton again denied the charge of "insolence." He asserted the constitutional right of the people of New Mexico—conquered or unconquered, coming into our nation by conquest now, or coming into it heretofore as a part of Texas, in any view of the matter—to present their petition. Every subject in their memorial was a fair subject for legislation, and they had presented them in respectful terms. They had done what they had a right to do, and Mr. B. would not have the term "insolent" applied to them, without saying, in a way that should be understood, that the expression was gratuitous and unfounded.

Mr. Calhoun had remarked upon the petition itself, and not upon its printing or reference. He did not hold the paper to be unconstitutional, nor did he consider the Senator from Missouri or the Senator from Delaware responsible for its contents. His point was, that a petition coming from the people occupying a territory belonging to the United States in its Federal capacity, asking Congress to exclude the people of one half the States from said territory, was insolent; and whether the Senator from Missouri agreed with him or not, was to Mr. C. a matter of perfect indifference.

Mr. Westcott expressed his doubt of the genuineness of the petition, and called for the proof that the persons signing it did constitute a Convention of the people of New Mexico, authorized in all respects to represent and to speak for the "75,000 or 100,000 souls" residing in said Territory. He was of the opinion that this so-called Convention was a got-up concern, convened by a few individuals, and from interested motives.

Mr. Clayton expressed his regret that this debate had occurred. Surely it had not been provoked by anything which had fallen from his lips or the lips of the Senator from Missouri. They had consulted together relative to the memorial, and had resolved to present it, have it read, and, as it contained nothing upon its face disrespectful, to ask its reference to the appropriate committee, and that it be printed. The honorable Senator from Florida [Mr. Westcott] had prejudiced the interests of the petitioners, by insisting that the paper, which they had sent here, was an imposition. Why, sir, said Mr. C., it comes accredited by the Senator from Missouri and myself, and by letters from gentlemen residing in the Territory. And we believe, from every evidence, that it is a genuine petition from a great number of persons who had assembled at Santa Fe, for the purpose of obtaining of the American Congress protection as a people. They are without law and without protection, and they humbly and respectfully ask the American Congress to give them the protection of a civil Government. That is their great object. As to the imposition which the honorable gentleman from Florida suspects, there is not a shadow of evidence or a shadow of reason to suspect such a thing. The petition is signed by a gentleman declaring himself to be the President of the Convention. It is countersigned by another gentleman representing himself to be the Secretary of the Convention; and it is additionally accredited to us by the names of some twelve or fifteen other persons, who I suppose thought that the addition of their names would at least give no discredit to the statement of the President and Secretary of the Convention, that they were the officers of a Convention duly assembled for the purpose stated.

Now, Mr. President, I deprecate any discussion upon the two questions which are most calculated to excite any discussion, while the petition is in this preliminary stage—the question whether slavery shall be restricted in that Territory, and the question whether the limits of the Territory shall be on this side of the Rio Grande, or whether they shall stop with the river. These matters may be appropriately discussed when the committee to which the petition will be referred can make their report, and state propositions distinctly for the consideration of the American Senate. But now, sir, there is no question before the Senate. A debate upon the matter can only have the effect to prejudge the claims of the petitioners to have a civil Government. My views upon one great question stated in the memorial are perfectly well known to the Senator from South Carolina and to the Senator from Florida. I do submit to the gentleman from South Carolina, that, upon full consideration, he will reconsider the charge of insolence. If he means that the petition is disrespectful, he is greatly mistaken, as I think. If it is insolent, it of course must be disrespectful; and if it is disrespectful to one half of the Senators upon this floor—if it is disrespectful to any portion of the Senators upon this floor—it ought not to be received, much less to be referred and printed. But it is not; there is not a word of it calculated to excite any such feeling. These gentlemen say they are opposed to the introduction of slavery. Now, whether they are Abolitionists, or whatever they are, they have a right to say that—have they not? Why, sir, if a petition was sent here, claiming to be signed by some fifteen gentlemen, who desired that slaves should be introduced there, would any gentleman rise and say that it was disrespectful to one-half the Senate, or to one-half the country—to the great North, which has claimed through the whole campaign that there shall be no slavery either in California or in New Mexico?

Mr. President, I sought to discharge my duty merely by stating my disposition to give that people a form of civil Government. I regret that any observation should have fallen from any quarter calculated to injure the great cause of the petitioners who claim that a civil Government shall be extended over them. I hope, sir, that, without further opposition, (if there has been any opposition,) the memorial will be printed.

Mr. Calhoun. A single word, Mr. President, in relation to the charge of disrespect. The position of the Senator was this: that if the petition is disrespectful to the Senate, it ought not to be received. If disrespectful to our constituents, the same rule applies as if disrespectful to the Senators. Well, sir, many years ago I took the ground that the Senator from Delaware does—that what is disrespectful to our constituents is disrespectful to the Senate, and ought not to be received. When Abolition petitions were first presented here, that was the ground I took; and the Secretary will remember that I called upon him to take out two or three of those petitions, and read them to the Senate. They were abusive to the South in the extreme—called us thieves, and applied other epithets of the same character. I then appealed to gentlemen upon the other side, that that was disrespectful to our constituents, and therefore disrespectful to the Senate. But my appeal was in vain; they voted me down, and received the petitions. I hope, then, this petition will not be received, for the very reason that it is disrespectful to the constituents of one-half of the country.

But I do not wish to make a point of that. I rose to express my sentiments; and I shall ever rise when any occasion demands that I should vindicate the honor of those I represent. I call it the height of insolence for the people recently subjected by our arms, to come here and pray the American Congress to exclude from its territory one-half of the people of the nation to which that territory belongs. It does not belong to the North as the North, or to the South as the South. It belongs to the thirty States; and is it not a piece of insolence that they should come here and present such a petition? Sir, if I had taken the ground which my own feelings dictated, I would have moved to lay the petition on the table; but, let it go!

Mr. Benton. As the Senator from South Carolina reiterates, in the most formal manner, his declaration that the petition is insolent, and that it is such a one as ought not to be received, because it affects the interest of, or is disrespectful to, half the States of the Union, I desire, sir, that he should have an opportunity of recording his vote; and if he will make a motion to reject the petition, I will give way. I pause to give the gentleman an opportunity.

Mr. Calhoun. I make no motion, sir!

Mr. Benton. Then, sir, I move that the petition be printed, and upon that question I ask the yeas and nays, that we may see who is willing to charge these petitioners with insolence to the American Senate, in presenting their petition here.

Mr. Foote followed, interrogating the Senator from Delaware relative to the genuineness of the petition, and the right and authority of its signers to act for the entire people of New Mexico.

Mr. Clayton replied, presenting his evidences, and contending that it was not usual in ordinary cases to question the authenticity of a memorial presented by a Senator who was himself satisfied with reference thereto. Mr. C. had not the least doubt that the paper was genuine in every sense of the word.

Mr. Foote went into a critical analysis of the term "Convention," instructing the Senate with reference to its precise meaning in its various applications, and illustrating by reference to conventional assemblages, both civil and ecclesiastical.

Mr. F. then proceeded with some remarks relative to the authenticity of the memorial, intimating that he believed it to have been gotten up by politicians, as a clap-trap, for political effect.

After some further remarks by Mr. Westcott, Mr. Foote, and Mr. Clayton, in the course of which the latter gentleman stated that the proceedings of the Convention in question had been published for weeks all over the country—

Mr. Hale rose and said: Mr. President, as this subject has created some debate at this unusual stage of the session, I do not know but that it is as good a time to meet the great question involved as at any other. It is unusual to take up an important question in this way; but, inasmuch as a debate has been entered into, and as the petition presented to us has been criticised, and the motives of its signers and advocates impugned, it is proper that I should submit a few remarks relative thereto; and, sir, as the petition has been denominated insolent, I do not know but I may subject myself to a charge of the same character by the amendment which I propose to offer. My amendment is, that the petition be referred to the Committee on Territories, *with instructions* to report a bill organizing a Government agreeably to the suggestions of the memorial. Now, sir, let me say one word in regard to the character of this memorial. The great objection which seems to have been directed by the honorable gentlemen from Mississippi and Florida, is, that it does not come to us authenticated as the proceedings of a regular convention. It is stated, if I understood the Senator from Mississippi aright, that this term had assumed a pretty definite and settled meaning among us. He said that by a convention we understood a number of men regularly elected as representatives of a people. I think, sir, if the honorable Senator will look back to the history of this country, which enjoys a very much higher stage of civilization and a great deal more learning upon this matter of conventions, than that from which this memorial has been sent us, he will find that this term is not so well understood even in this country as he would suppose, and there might easily be a little ignorance in a land where they have not been drilled so thoroughly. The great Empire State of New York—and they have had as much discussion upon this matter of conventions as most people—could not choose a delegate that was competent to throw her vote in a regular convention for the nomination of a President. This shows that the matter is not any better understood here than in New Mexico. In South Carolina they could choose a man in two minutes to throw nine votes, while in New York they could not choose a man to throw one; and we might well exercise a little forbearance towards the ignorant people in New Mexico. Perhaps, sir, this is the first time they have undertaken to hold a convention, and that may be the reason. Perhaps it was the Free Soil party in New Mexico who held a convention and sent this petition here. It is possible, sir, that it may be the Democratic party, and it is not utterly impossible that it was a convention of the Whig party, for they are "in favor of Free Soil," and the restriction of slavery, in many parts of the country. I am not sure but we ought to have a Committee on Conventions—as the subject may be properly investigated and reported upon.

This, sir, is a petition asking legislation upon a most serious subject—a subject upon which the honorable Senator from Mississippi has well said that the public mind has been greatly agitated, and upon which it will continue to be agitated until the question is definitively *settled*—not compromised. I do not believe that compromises will meet the case; but it must be settled, and settled upon principle; and it is just as well to meet it here, at this point, as at any other time. I hope, sir, that those who believe that the people of that country are entitled to a Government will be prepared to give a vote upon this question, and to give it now.

Besides, sir, this question is put upon the Democratic platform—upon the platform of the Nicholson letter. That, sir, laid down the doctrine that the matter should be left to the people of the country. Now, sir, the people have spoken. They have probably read the Nicholson letter, and have thought that Congress, in its progressive march, had got up to the step indicated by that letter. They may also have heard that there is a "change going on in the public mind." Of this, however, not being certain, they have come here upon the Nicholson letter, and have petitioned for such a Government as they desire. I hope, that notwithstanding the election has proved disastrous to the man who built the platform, its principles are not so entirely demolished but that they might appeal to the men who built the platform to stand by it, now that it has for the first time a practical and efficient meaning. They have come here in the very spirit of the Nicholson letter, and have asked that we would give them the first dose of the Nicholson medicine; and shall we refuse it? Shall we, who have been fighting this great battle upon this platform, now that the question is put to the test, kick over the platform upon which we have stood, and upon which we have fought so manfully? No, sir, I trust not; but I hope that all those who believe that the Nicholson letter contained the true doctrine, who believe that there has not been a change in these things, will come up and vote for a Government for this people, which they asked for with so much confidence, although they would have asked for it with still more confidence if the author of this Nicholson letter had been placed at the head of the Government. I move, sir, that the memorial be referred, with instructions to the committee to report a bill in accordance with the prayer of the petitioners.

Mr. Foote followed with some additional remarks relative to the signification of the word Convention, referring to the "Buffalo Convention" as the most famous Convention of modern times. It was exceedingly numerous, being described as the most multitudinous body ever assembled, in the form of a convention, in the world, and many persons seemed inclined to take it for granted that such a numerous convention must necessarily represent nine-tenths of the people of this country; but it turned out, at the election, to be a convention of the smallest party ever assembled in convention, in the world—not capable of giving a single electoral vote for President or Vice President. So it might turn out with the Santa Fe Convention, which, perhaps, was, after all, more numerous than its constituents. Mr. F. denied that the prayer of the petition presented the doctrine of the Nicholson letter. Did the Nicholson letter propose to take from any portion of the people of this Union any portion of its rights? Did it propose Congressional legislation upon the subject of slavery? Did it not deny the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject? Did it not assert that Congress had no jurisdiction whatever upon the subject? And yet this memorial, in the face of the Nicholson letter, dared to ask Congress to legislate upon the subject; it made a proposition to despoil a portion of the Union of their State rights.

Mr. Hale here remarked that the Senator from Texas [Mr. Rusk] had suggested to him that by voting upon the motion to amend, so as to give *instructions* to the committee, the Senate would prejudge the question as to the right of Texas to all the territory to the Rio Grande, (which Mr. H. had no desire to do,) and he therefore, by leave of the Senate, would withdraw his amendment.

The question being taken upon the motion to print the memorial, it was decided in the affirmative by the following vote, viz:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherton, Badger, Baldwin, Benton, Bradbury, Breese, Butler, Cameron, Clarke, Clayton, Corwin, Dayton, Dickinson, Dix, Dodge, Douglas, Felch, Fitzgerald, Hale, Hamlin, Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Pearce, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, and Walker—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Berrien, Borland, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Downs, Fitzpatrick, Foote, Houston, Hunter, King, Rusk, Turney, Westcott, and Yulee—14.

The question being then put upon the reference, the petition was referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Douglas gave notice of an amendment to his bill for the admission of California as a State, providing for the election of seventy-five delegates to a convention to form a constitution for said State.

Mr. Butler gave notice that he should oppose a reference of said bill to the Committee on Territories. Bills of that character should, in his opinion, be referred to the Judiciary Committee, [of which Mr. B. is chairman.]

After the transaction of some additional business, of no general interest,

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

A resolution, submitted yesterday by Mr. McLane, providing for inquiring by committee relative to the constitutional provision directing the House to publish a journal of its proceedings and debates, and to ascertain how far the House had heretofore complied with such provision, with a view to some action, by which full reports of their proceedings may be procured and published, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 87, nays 87, the Speaker giving his casting vote in favor of the resolution.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. Palfrey asked leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of all acts of Congress establishing slavery in the District of Columbia.

Several members objecting,

Mr. P. demanded the yeas and nays on the motion for leave, which were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 69, nays 82—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Belcher, Blackmar, Blanchard, Canby, Collamer, Conger, Cranston, Darling, Dickinson, Dixon, Dunn, Eckert, Embree, Faran, Freedley, Giddings, Gott, Greeley, Gregory, Grinnell, Hale, Nathan K. Hall, Henry, Elias B. Holmes, Hubbard, James H. Johnson, Kellogg, Daniel P. King, Lahm, William T. Lawrence, S. Lawrence, Lord, McClelland, Marsh, Marvin, Morris, Mullin, Nelson, Palfrey, Peaslee, Petrie, Putnam, Reynolds, Julius Rockwell, John A. Rockwell, Root, Rumsey, St. John, Sawyer, Silvester, Slingerland, Smart, Robert Smith, Truman Smith, Starkweather, Stuart, Strohm, Tallmadge, Taylor, James Thompson, William Thompson, Thurston, Tuck, Van Dyke, Vinton, Warren, Wentworth, White, Wilmot, Wilson—69.

NAYS—Messrs. Atkinson, Barringer, Barrow, Bayly, Beale, Bocock, Boyd, Boydon, Brady, William G. Brown, Charles Brown, Albert G. Brown, Buckner, Burt, Butler, Franklin Clark, Clingman, Howell Cobb, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Cocke, Crozier, Daniel, Donnell, Garnett Duncan, Ficklin, Flournoy, French, Fulton, Gayle, Gentry, Goggin, Green, Willard P. Hall, Haralson, Hill, Hilliard, Isaac E. Holmes, John W. Houston, Inge, Charles J. Ingersoll, Irvin, Andrew Johnson, George W. Jones, John W. Jones, Kaufman, Kennon, Leffler, Levin, Lincoln, Lynde, McClernand, McDowell, McKay, McLane, Job Mann, Mead, Miller, Morse, Outlaw, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Preston, Rhett, Richardson, Robinson, Shepperd, Sherrill, Stanton, Strong, Thibodeaux, Thomas, J Thompson, R. W. Thompson, John B. Thompson, Tompkins, Venable, Wallace, Wiley, Woodward—82.

So the motion for leave was negatived.

Mr. Root offered a resolution, requiring the Committee on the Territories to promptly bring in a bill or bills organizing Governments for California and New Mexico, which should exclude slavery therefrom; and on this he moved the previous question, which was carried.

It having been moved to lay this resolution on the table, the yeas and nays were demanded upon the motion.

Mr. Giddings moved a call of the House, and it was ordered.

One hundred and eighty-seven members having answered to their names, further proceedings under the call were, on motion, suspended.

The question on laying the resolution of the gentleman from Ohio on the table was then decided by yeas and nays in the negative—yeas 80, nays 107.

Mr. Vinton inquired whether a motion to amend the resolution would now be in order? and was answered by

The Speaker, that it would not be in order.

The Speaker stated that the main question would now be put; when

Mr. Goggin moved an adjournment; which was lost.

The question on the adoption of the resolution of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Root] having then been put, it was adopted—yeas 107, nays 80—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Ashmun, Belcher, Bingham, Blackmar, Blanchard, Brady, Butler, Canby, Cathcart, Clapp, Collamer, Conger, Crowell, Cummins, Darling, Dickey, Dickinson, Dixon, Duer, Daniel Duncan, Dunn, Eckert, Edwards, Embree, Nathan Evans, Faran, Farrelly, Fisher,

Freedley, Fries, Giddings, Gott, Greeley, Gregory, Grinnell, Hale, Nathan K. Hall, Hammons, James G. Hampton, Henley, Henry, Hubbard, Hudson, Hunt, Irvin, Jenkins, James H. Johnson, Kellogg, Daniel P. King, Lahm, William T. Lawrence, Sidney Lawrence, Levin, Lincoln, Lord, Lynde, Maclay, McClelland, McIlvaine, Job Mann, Marsh, Marvin, Morris, Mullin, Nelson, Nicoll, Palfrey, Peaslee, Peck, Petrie, Pollock, Putnam, Reynolds, Richey, Robinson, Rockhill, Julius Rockwell, John A. Rockwell, Root, Rumsey, St. John, Sherrill, Silvester, Slingerland, Smart, Caleb B. Smith, Robert Smith, Truman Smith, Starkweather, Stuart Strohm, Strong, Tallmadge, Taylor, James Thompson, Richard W. Thompson, William Thompson, Thurston, Tuck, Vinton, Warren, Wentworth, White, Wick, Wiley, Wilmot, Wilson—107.

Nays—Messrs. Adams, Atkinson, Barringer, Barrow, Bayly, Beale, Bocock, Botts, Boyd, Boydon, William G. Brown, Charles Brown, Albert G. Brown, Buckner, Burt, Chase, Beverly L. Clark, Clingman, Howell Cobb, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Cranston, Crozier, Daniel, Donnell, Garnett Duncan, Alexander Evans, Flournoy, French, Fulton, Gaines, Gentry, Goggin, Green, Willard P. Hall, Haralson, Harmanson, Harris, Hill, Hilliard, Isaac E. Holmes, Inge, Charles J. Ingersoll, Iverson, Andrew Johnson, Robert W. Johnson, Geo. W. Jones, John W. Jones, Kaufman, Kennon, La Sere, Leffler, Ligon, Lumpkin, McDowell, McKay, McLane, Meade, Miller, Morehead, Morse, Murphy, Outlaw, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Preston, Rhett, Richardson, Sawyer, Shepperd, Stanton, Thibodeaux, Thomas, Jacob Thompson, John B. Thompson, Robert A. Thompson, Tompkins, Venable, Wallace, Woodward—80.

Mr. Robinson moved to reconsider the vote, with a view to debate the resolution; and pending this motion,

The House adjourned.

Thursday, December 14, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, appeared in his seat to-day.

Numerous petitions were presented and referred.

Mr. Benton, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom the subject had been referred, reported "A bill to make compensation for the transportation of troops and supplies, for a limited time, over the Isthmus of Panama."

The bill proposes to pay Aspinwall & Co., of New York, a reasonable compensation for the service alluded to, provided they complete a railroad across the Isthmus within three years from the 1st of June next.

On motion of Mr. Benton, the bill was made the special order for Monday next.

THE SEVENTH CENSUS.

Mr. Cameron, in pursuance of previous notice, asked and obtained leave to introduce a bill for taking the seventh census, or enumeration of the people of the United States; which was read twice, and referred to a select committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Cameron, Davis of Massachusetts, Butler, Underwood, and Badger.

DECEASE OF A REPRESENTATIVE.

A message was received from the House of Representatives, announcing the death of the Hon. Alexander D. Sims, a Representative in Congress from the State of South Carolina, and the action of the House in relation thereto.

After a few remarks by Mr. Butler, the usual resolutions of respect were adopted, and

The Senate adjourned to Monday next.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Bridges, of Pennsylvania, appeared in his seat to-day.

OBITUARY.

Immediately after the meeting of the House, Mr. Wallace, of South Carolina, rose, and in a few appropriate remarks announced the death of Alexander D. Sims, a Representative in Congress from the State of South Carolina, who died at Kingstree, South Carolina, on the 16th of November last. At the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. W. submitted the customary resolutions, which were agreed to, and

The House adjourned.

Friday, December 15, 1848.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

After a session of about two hours, which was consumed in action upon private bills,

The House adjourned to Monday next.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 21, 1848.

NOTICE.

All communications to the *Era*, whether on business of the paper, or for publication, should be addressed to

G. BAILEY, Jun., *Washington, D. C.*

FOREIGN NEWS.

Few persons can find time to wade through the distracting details of the foreign news now constantly brought to our shores. We are making arrangements to present such a weekly digest as may satisfy all our readers.

NEXT NUMBER

will close our 2d volume. It will contain a complete Index. We have on hand some rich contributions from Grace Greenwood and Mrs. Southworth.

Bring along the subscribers.

REMOVAL.

We have removed our publication office to a more central situation, on 7th street, a few doors below the General Post Office, opposite the Odd Fellows' Hall; and our printing office to 6th street, a few doors below Pennsylvania avenue.

THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS

will be, from present indications, an exciting one. Our reports will be impartial and as full as the great majority of our readers will desire. After we have gone through the pressure of materials now perplexing us, more attention will be paid to the Literary and Miscellaneous departments of the paper.

☞ The letter of our correspondent in Cincinnati, entitled "Westernisms in Random Epistles," was not received till another letter, disposing of the same topics, had been printed.

☞ The Voice of the Aged.—A venerable friend of Freedom in Vermont, writes: "I think we have not paid that attention to the moral and religious bearing of the Slave question, which its importance demands. Slavery is a violation of moral obligation, and this should be pressed and pressed again upon the Southern conscience. I am old and feeble, and can now do but little; but I would cheer on those who are strong for the war. There is much to encourage, nothing to discourage. Victory will come in the best time. May you live to see it!"

☞ What one man can do.—A zealous Free Soil man at Deep Run, Connecticut, in a humorous letter to us a few days ago, incidentally shows what one man can do when he is in earnest. He writes: "I notice by your paper, that any *clergyman*, sending four names, with the money, is entitled to a copy gratis. Now, I am not a clergyman," [Never mind that,] "but I do feel an interest in the noble cause in which you are engaged; and, although a journeyman mechanic, I tried, during the late canvass, to do something for Free Soil, by way of circulating papers and documents. I spent several days in obtaining subscribers and readers to the Campaign of Freedom, and our own Free Soil Advocate, and made a market for three hundred or four hundred weekly, in seven or eight different towns, partly gratis."

How much the cause of Human Progress owes to men of this earnestness of purpose, who do good for the *love* of it, and not the *profit* of it.

☞ Shawnees.—The friend among the Shawnees, who sends us some Indian subscribers, will confer a favor on us by carrying out his intention, and giving us a general history of matters in the Indian country.

☞ No Mistake.—A correspondent, writing from Ohio, says—"It is said that your article on the power of the Vice President, stating that he had nothing to do with appointing the Standing Committees in the Senate, is not correct. Will you inform your readers how the Committees are constituted?"

We are not mistaken. Formerly, the Standing Committees were appointed by the Vice President. Of late years, they have uniformly been constituted by the Senate. The following is an extract from the official proceedings of the Senate on Tuesday, the 12th:

"Mr. King submitted the following resolution; which was considered, by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

"*Resolved*, That the Committees on Military and Naval Affairs shall consist of seven members each, during the present session.

"The Senate proceeded to the appointment of the Standing Committees.

"Mr. King moved a suspension of the rules, in order that the balloting for the members of the several Standing Committees might be dispensed with.

"The Vice President suggested that, by the unanimous consent of the Senate, the balloting could be dispensed with.

"Mr. King then proposed that, as the Chairmen of the several Standing Committees had been agreed upon informally, their names should be read, and the vote taken upon them *viva voce*, and so with the remainder of the members of the several Committees.

"No objection being made, the names of the gentlemen composing the Committees were read and agreed to."

This is all plain enough.

☞ Consolatory.—A correspondent, in allusion to the hits we have occasionally received from all sides, tells a good anecdote, as follows:

"Colonel Smith, of New Hampshire, was serving under General Stark at the battle of Bennington, in 1777; and, during the heat of the action, a musket ball grazed the top of his right ear. A moment after, another carried away the bottom of the left ear. Turning to a brother officer, he coolly remarked, 'I believe my head is in about the *right place!*' The *Era* has to stand an occasional shot from the North as well as the South, but it is in the right place."

MOVEMENTS IN CONGRESS—PARTY TACTICS.

Wednesday, the 13th instant, was a lively day in Congress. Movements in relation to slavery, of great importance, were made in both Houses, a report of which may be found on our fourth page.

THE SENATE.

The memorial from the citizens of New Mexico, presented by Messrs. Benton and Clayton, is carefully worded, and entirely respectful. They pray for the establishment of a Territorial Government, against the dismemberment of their Territory, and for protection against the introduction of slaves. Their language is—

"We do not desire to have domestic slavery within our borders, and, until the time shall arrive for our admission into the Union as a State, we desire to be protected by Congress against its introduction among us."

Precisely a similar prayer was presented by the people of Virginia, when a Colony, to the King of England. Could a petition be more reasonable, more respectful? Have not these people of New Mexico, who were guarded by the Government, from which we wrested their territory, against the evil of slavery, a perfect right to pray Congress to continue the exemption? Could they imagine that it would be deemed unreasonable or disrespectful, to ask this small boon of a Government, professing to rank first among the Republics of the world?

Mr. Calhoun took fire, and denounced the memorial as insolent, on the ground that these subjugated people were praying for the exclusion from their Territory of the very men who had conquered it. For the debate that followed this violent demonstration, we refer the reader to our report (on the first page.) Mr. Benton replied to Mr. Calhoun with dignity and severity, and exposed the small effort of Mr. Westcott, of Florida, to mislead the Senate and the country as to the character of the petition. Mr. Calhoun, it will be seen, did not think at first of questioning the genuineness of the memorial. He was too indignant to think of resorting to any finesse to discredit it. Mr. Westcott, more cool, saw the blunder of his leader, but, always bent on going with him who goes furthest for slavery, he tried to throw doubts on the genuineness of the paper, and cross-questioned Mr. Clayton, as if he had been arguing a petty case before a county court. Mr. Foote improved on this hint, branched out into a learned dissertation on Conventions, and at last convinced himself that the document was not what it pretended to be.

A more ridiculous exhibition we have never seen in the American Senate. The design of Mr Calhoun and his friends was palpable. Foreseeing that the question of Slavery-Extension is to occupy much of the time of this session, the presentation of this memorial furnished, as they thought, a fair opportunity for arousing the slaveholding spirit, exciting the attention and feeling of the South, and compelling all of its Senators, under fear of their constituencies, to unite at once in unbroken pro-slavery phalanx. Jealous of the apparent harmony between the Northern and Southern Whigs induced by the election of General Taylor, the more issues they can get up on the Slavery question, the better for them in every respect. If the Whig Senators from the South show indifference, or place themselves in antagonism to slavery, the fact is duly reported to the South, and used by every anti-Whig journal in that section to undermine the Whig party as false to Southern interests. If, on the other hand, they are driven to take ultra pro-slavery ground, the unity of the Whigs in Congress is broken up, the harmony of their councils, the efficiency of their party action are destroyed, and slaveholding demands are enforced by slaveholding unity. The vote on the printing shows this to be the philosophy of their action. Of the fourteen who voted against the printing of the memorial, Judge Berrien, always true to slavery as the needle to the pole, was the only Whig; though several slaveholding Democrats, not Calhoun men, voted in the affirmative.

Were we an advocate of slavery interests, we should pray to be delivered from the hindering help of Mr. Calhoun and his clique. What is to be gained to slavery, by continually stretching its demands to an extent which a large proportion of slaveholders will not sustain, and by raising issues on points where defeat is sure to result from division in their ranks, we are unable to see. But, certainly the anti-slavery men have no reason to complain. They are under obligations to Mr. Calhoun for giving them so many opportunities to strengthen themselves on preliminary questions, and carry distraction into the ranks of their opponents.

HOUSE.

While the Senate was engaged in talking about slavery, the House was acting. Two movements were made, which served to test its disposition, and disclose the policy of the old party managers. The first was by Mr. Palfrey, who asked leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of all acts of Congress or parts of acts establishing or maintaining slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, objected, and the question being taken by yeas and nays, the vote stood, for granting leave, 70, against it, 81. It will be observed that only 151 members out of 228 voted. The House was not full, and some in their seats, refused to vote. Had all the members voted, it is doubtful what would have been the result. It will be observed in our report, that very few Democrats of the North and West opposed the motion for leave. A few Northern and Western Whigs are recorded in the negative, among whom we note, Richard W. Thompson, a kind of anti-slavery Taylor man from Indiana. Many of the Taylor men from the free States were incensed at Mr. Palfrey for thus compelling them to show their hands upon this question. It interfered with certain party calculations. A very anti-slavery member from Vermont intimated that Mr. Palfrey had an eye merely to the advancement of his own special interests in the election to be held in a few days for Congress, in his District!

But, another bombshell was impending. Mr Root brought forward a resolution, that the Committee on the Territories be instructed to report to this House, with as little delay as practicable, a bill or bills, providing a Territorial Government for each of the Territories of New Mexico and California, and excluding slavery therefrom. This was decidedly irregular. It had not been agreed upon in caucus. It was not in the programme of the Taylor party. How to get rid of the dangerous missile, without an explosion, was a delicate problem. Root moved the previous question. Hall, of Missouri, moved to lay on the table; Giddings, that there be a call of the House. The Clerk called the roll—187 members answered to their names, and further proceedings in the call were dispensed with. The motion to lay on the table was lost—yeas 80, nays 107. The previous question was seconded, the members passing through the tellers. Just as the operation was commencing, Mr. Vinton, a very anti-slavery Taylor member from Ohio, arose, apparently much excited, and demanded of the Speaker, whether the resolution required the committee to report such bills, with the slavery-restriction, or *merely to inquire into the expediency* of doing so. The Speaker replied that it *required the committee to report them.* Then, exclaimed Mr. Vinton, "I shall vote against the previous question." That is, he was willing to have the committee instructed to *inquire into the expediency* of reporting bills excluding slavery from the Territories, but nothing more!

We were under the impression that the Taylor men at the North considered the Wilmot Proviso a settled question among themselves. But, it seems that one of them, who has always been deemed anti-slavery, wishes it to be regarded as an open question, and was unwilling to have his party in Congress committed upon it! Mark that!

Mr. Vinton's example was followed, and we observed many leading Whigs voting *nay* to the previous question. By the help of the Northern and Western Democrats, however, the previous question was sustained, and every member brought to a direct vote on the resolution—a very unpleasant operation. To be hauled down to this *yea* or *nay* bull-ring, is a species of political butchery which gentlemen ought not to attempt upon each other.

Of course, when it became necessary to answer *yea* or *nay*, there was little apprehension as to the result. But one Taylor man, and here and there a stray Cass man from the North, ventured to record their names in the negative. Rhode Island had the honor of furnishing that courageous Whig, in the person of Mr. Cranston, in whose mind a change seems to have been going on, similar to the change which proved so fatal to the political prospects of another illustrious individual. Richard W. Thompson voted this time in the affirmative, and one of the mischievous echoes of the Hall conveyed to us a most pathetic reproach uttered thereupon by some Southern friend;—"Ah, Thompson," he cried, "you are a backslider—you have not done as well as you did this morning!" We read a whole volume of meaning in that.

Putting this and all the other indications we had observed together, the policy of the managers flashed upon us at once. Last session, when the Clayton Compromise was on its way to the House, Northern Whigs assured their Southern friends that its passage through that body would place them at a great disadvantage in the Presidential struggle then commencing, and endanger the prospects of General Taylor at the North. Judge Stephens moved to lay the Compromise on the table, and eight Southern Whigs aided to give effect to the motion. "Help me and I will help you," is regarded as a fraternal duty in all associations. Let us imagine the tacit understanding in the brotherhood of Taylor men, this session. "We have elected our candidate—let us keep peace one with another. We must make a new tariff, so as to help the great capitalists of the East, and the great planters of the South who, with a surplus of slave labor, and an excess of cotton, are seeking to build up their infant manufactures. Let us, then, keep down every question, sectional or distracting in its nature, calculated to awaken discord and dissensions among us. You helped us last session to kill the Compromise, and stave off all discussion—it would seem fair that we reciprocate that courtesy, this session."

Does not this look like the truth? Think a little further. There be many expectants among Congressmen, of comfortable appointments at home or abroad. Why compel these gentlemen to make their mark on obnoxious questions, where to vote *nay* would ruin them with their constituencies, and to vote *yea* might endanger their standing with the Powers that are to be? "Lie low—and keep dark" is a safe policy. Let there be no agitation. Let the ordinary party issues have free course, and suppress all vexed questions. The President, you know, will veto anything we might do for freedom, if it should have the rare luck to run the gauntlet in the Senate. Let the whole Territorial question go over till the next Congress. By that time, we shall all know our destinations—the wheel of fortune will have turned out its prizes and its blanks, and—the people of the Territories of New Mexico and California will have severally organized *State* Governments, so that all that will then be necessary to do will be, to admit them without any dangerous discussion at all about slavery—for, you know, we are all agreed, North and South, that *States* may *exclude* or *permit* slavery, without interference from the General Government. But, if action this session be insisted upon, there is the new dodge of Douglas—how would that do?

Do our readers understand the game?

Now, it so happens that the Free Soil Whigs and Democrats in Congress have the power to disturb these calculations, and compel the old Hunkers of all parties to put their views on record from time to time. This is a pleasant consideration.

SHALL THE PEOPLE BE CHEATED?

The great issue presented during the late Presidential canvass was that of Slavery-Restriction. General Taylor could not have been elected if his Northern friends had not succeeded, by dint of bold assertions, sophistical constructions, and private letters, in producing the general impression that the veto power would never be used by him to prevent the passage of a bill enacting the Wilmot Proviso. The testimony of the great majority of the People at the ballot-box was, a testimony in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. This was a measure which they well understood, about which there could be no mistake, the only safe and effectual safeguard they knew that could be interposed against the extension of slavery. In support of this they recorded their judgment and will so clearly, emphatically, repeatedly, that no representative from the free States, unless he has made up his mind to disown allegiance to them and expect nothing from them, dares openly and directly to oppose it.

But, it is quite possible to oppose a measure covertly, indirectly, under the show of devotion to its principle. The majority of the members of Congress, at this session, if compelled to vote *yea* or *nay*, without cover or concealment, on a direct proposition to exclude slavery from our Territories, will not dare to vote *nay*. But, precisely this compulsion is what the majority will seek most anxiously to avoid. Would to God that the People could know the caucussings and contrivances of the men whom they have chosen to represent their will, and in whom they are reposing full confidence!

In another place, we have given a glimpse at the faithlessness of some of the leading Whigs in the House, from the free States. There are Democrats from the North and West equally faithless. Some of the newspapers, in making up a table of those who voted against the resolution of Mr Root, to instruct the Committee on the Territories to report a bill providing Territorial Governments for California and New Mexico, and excluding slavery, record but one Democratic *nay*. This is a great mistake. Seven Democrats from the free States voted in the negative: C. J. Ingersoll, Kennon, jun., Miller, and Sawyer, of Ohio, Murphy, of New York, Richardson, of Illinois, and Leffler, of Iowa; and eleven were absent or refused to vote—Birdsall and Collins, of New York, Bridges and Brodhead, of Pennsylvania, Clark and Williams, of Maine, Edsall of New Jersey, Ficklin, McClernand, and Turner, of Illinois, Pettit, of Indiana. Of these, six or seven are utterly *unreliable*. Williams, of Maine, is constantly dodging: his son, we believe, was made a midshipman at the last session! Ficklin, Turner, and McClernand, are probably under the influence of Douglas, whose bill we have unmasked in another place.

We know that it is the policy of the leaders of the Whigs and Democrats in Congress to "kill off," as they phrase it, the Free Soil party. If they can unite on a plan for adjusting the question of slavery this session, this object, they think, will be accomplished. But the plan must be such as to "keep the word of promise to the ear" of the Northern people; such as will not damage materially their standing with their constituencies—such as they may succeed in imposing upon the People for a genuine Free Soil measure.

We learn that this subject has been under consideration among the managers ever since the session commenced—that there have been frequent caucusings and countings of noses—that the bill of Douglas has been supposed to afford a clue to lead the old Hunkers of both parties out of their perplexities—that the contriver of it has been trying the fidelity of Free Soil men, and Wilmot Proviso Democrats and Whigs in the House—that at one time many, if not a great majority, of the leading Whigs were disposed to regard it with favor—that among these were Vinton, of Ohio, and Greeley, of New York, and we have not heard that the former has changed his mind, or that the latter will not give it his support, provided Douglas define the eastern boundary of the new State!!

Now, if all these things do not alarm the friends of Free Territory in all parties, then they are doomed. Let them look to it. Letters innumerable are passing from Washington. Efforts will be made, no doubt, to still agitation at home, to subsidize the press, to prevent any action by the State Legislatures. Will not the People awake? It is a fact, but we fear they will find it out too late, that the men who represent them in Congress, cannot all be depended upon. Their constituents must keep a constant watch over them, and let them know that acquiescence in the schemes of Slavery plotters against Liberty will be political *felo de se*.

What makes the paltering policy of these half-hearted men more criminal, is the fact, that many Southern men were making up their minds to acquiesce in the Wilmot Proviso policy, as a thing settled upon—not to be avoided. All the auspices were favorable to the cause of Human Liberty. And now we say, if Slavery triumph, it will triumph not by the power of the slaveholders, but through the loathsome treachery of Northern and Western members of Congress. Who they are, time may show.

For the National Era.

SLEIVENAMON.

Wild the night: on the wind, as it freshens amain,
Sound the rushing of waters, the dashing of rain;
In the narrow defile, where the hills meet each other,
They are waiting the hour to meet brother with brother!

For brothers are they, and the brotherhood claim
Is hunger to death, and a brand on each name;
They meet but in darkness, they shrink at the dawning,
And hide them away from God's beautiful morning.

Through the gloomy ravine, see them steal to the light,
With their skeleton limbs and their faces of white!
Will they laugh in yon manse, will they dance in yon villa,
When they hear the wild cries of the Irish Guerrilla?

Cold hands grasp each other sad eyes of despair
Gleam wild in the fire-light, through long-tangled hair;
God pity and pardon his children of sorrow,
Who plot at the midnight dark crimes for the morrow!

They smother the fire, lest its low lurid light
Should call to the tryst those not summoned to-night;
For the starving are hunted; the weak shall no longer
Dare murmur of wrongs in the ear of the stronger!

They had homes, these wild men, but death swept them away,
The famine, the fever, made sure of their prey,
Round each dark hearth the law dog now hunts like a demon,
But the hunted are safe in the pass of Sleivenamon!

Their utterance is rapid, vehement, and wild—
Who would dream in such dark hearts love ever had smiled?
That the hard eye was wet when the strong arm was clasping
The dead wife whose baby lay starving and gasping?

On lonely Sleivenamon sad visions arise,
Of his darling's last smile, and his child's patient eyes;
Hardened now by despair, for revenge he is waiting,
And the heart strong in love is now stronger in hating.

And what if next midnight the mansion shall flame!
The plunder is rapid, the foe has no name;
He hies him away to the dark mountain gorges,
And laughs at the fetters which tyranny forges!

Mount guard in your castles, look well to your halls,
To the corn of your harvest, the herds of your stalls;
For the poor and the wronged shall die dumbly no longer,
And the wolves of your hills are the Children of Hunger!

E. H. W.

Amesbury, Massachusetts.

SENATOR DIX AND THE AMISTAD CLAIM.

In reply to a correspondent in New York: Senator Dix voted *against* the amendment to the General Appropriation bill of last session, allowing the claim of $50,000 for the Amistad negroes. The amendment was carried by a majority of 3—In the House it was stricken out—and the Senate then receded. The list of *yeas* and *nays* on the amendment we copy from the Journal of August 3, 1848:

Yeas—Atchison, Atherton, Badger, Bell, Butler, Davis of Mississippi, Dayton, Dickinson, Dodge, Downs, Foote, Hannegan, Hunter, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, King, Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Pearce, Sebastian, Turney, Westcott, Yulee—24.

Nays—Baldwin, Benton, Bright, Clarke, Clayton, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dix, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Houston, Johnson of Maryland, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Rusk, Spruance, Underwood, Upham, Walker—21.

Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

CASE OF THE PEARL PRISONERS.

Washington, *December* 5, 1848.

The Circuit Court of this District, the supreme tribunal in all criminal cases—for in criminal cases no writ of error lies in this District to the Supreme Court of the United States—has been engaged for more than a week past on two cases—Daniel Drayton, plaintiff in error, *vs.* the United States.

These writs of error are brought to review and reverse the conviction of Drayton in the Criminal Court of this District on two several indictments for the larceny of slaves. They are a part of the 345 Pearl cases, of the trial of which, last summer, before the Criminal Court here, I sent you some account.

The counsel for Drayton in those trials filed no less than twelve bills of exceptions in each case to the rulings of Judge Crawford, by whom the cases were tried. The argument of those writs of error before the Circuit Court has consumed no less than seven days—so numerous and important were the errors alleged to be committed by the Judge below. Both cases were opened for the plaintiff in error, by Richard Hildreth, Esq., of Boston, followed by the District Attorney and J. H. Bradley, Esq., an eminent lawyer of this city, retained on behalf of the prosecution. The closing argument for the prisoner was made in the first case by Hon. Horace Mann, and in the second case by J. Mandeville Carlisle, Esq., a young and rising lawyer of this city, of great promise.

Besides other points of great interest, such as the constitutionality of Slavery in the District of Columbia, color in the District as a presumption of Slavery, and the amount and character of the evidence necessary to establish the fact of servitude in the District, the whole doctrine of the law of larceny was gone into in the fullest manner, especially the application of that doctrine to the subject of slaves. Mr. Hildreth, in his opening, denounced the instructions of Judge Crawford on this point, as not only bad English and bad law, but as exhibiting the appearance of an attempt at legal *double entendre*, preserving the sound form of legal words, but intended to convey, and actually conveying to the jury, a totally false and unfounded idea of the law. He denounced Judge Crawford's definition of larceny as false and "rotten," unsupported by a single adjudged case in any book, or by any tried treatise of any pretensions, and, in its special application to the subject of slave property, in positive and direct contradiction to the whole course of legislation in every slave State of the Union, and to every case on the subject to be found in the books; the boldest attempt at judicial legislation of which he had any knowledge. Mr. District Attorney, when he came to reply, accused the opposite counsel of an indecorous and unfounded attack on the personal character of the Judge.

Mr. Hildreth, in the opening of the second case, denied explicitly that he had made any personal attack on the Judge. He had attacked his instructions and his law; it was those, and not the Judge personally, that he had pronounced "rotten." Of the Judge personally he had said but one thing; and that was, that he was a Pennsylvanian. And why had he said that? To explain how it happened that the Judge had given instructions, not only in contradiction to the whole tenor of the common law, but to the whole course of Southern legislation—a blunder into which a Judge educated at the South would not have been so likely to fall.

One of the points made for the prisoner was, that it was necessary to prove the servitude of the negroes alleged to be stolen, by something more than the claim of the master. And the case was likened to that of an indictment for stealing foxes. Now, foxes being animals wild by nature, there can be no property in them sufficient to sustain an indictment for larceny, at least not unless they are alleged and proved to be foxes caught and subjected. While Mr. Mann was proving this illustration, the District Attorney wrote the following lines, and passed them along to the prisoner's counsel:

To illustrate the point he's making—
"In larceny there must be a taking"—
A fox, he says, cannot be stolen,
Be he a young or be he an old 'un.
Pursuing hounds say he's mistaken,
At least so far as to the taking.

It was not long before the following retort courteous was written on the back of the same paper, which was left on the table for the District Attorney's serious consideration:

Fox-hunting abroad, and slave-hunting in doors,
I beg leave to suggest do not run on all-fours;
Foxes do not eat foxes—brute natures have bounds,
But Mr. District Attorney, out-hounding the hounds,
Hunts men, women, and children, his pocket to fill,
On three hundred indictments, *at ten dollars a bill.*

The Court has adjourned for a fortnight, to take time to draw up its opinion. Very little doubt is felt of the reversal of the convictions. Another case against Sayres, the master of the vessel, upon which he was fined the very *moderate* sum of $11,800, with costs, amounting to $1,356, for transporting the slaves, yet remains to be considered. That case involves also some very interesting points.

THE DOUGLAS PROJECT EXPOSED.

People may wonder, but it is true nevertheless, that the insidious project of Mr. Douglas for settling the Territorial question, is regarded with favor by members of Congress, who ought to be prepared to put down every juggle contrived to cheat Freedom out of its patrimony. Other members contemplate the possibility of modifying the project, so as to pave the way at once for the organization of two States, and their admission without going through the intermediate territorial condition. The great object is, to get rid of the agitation of Slavery, and the least possible care is manifested by these tacticians to afford any positive, substantial safeguard to our new empire against the introduction of Slavery.

We tell the non-slaveholders of the country, you will be betrayed this session by the men in whom you trust, unless you bring to bear on Congress a pressure of Public Sentiment that shall forbid all compromise, all dodging, all jugglery, all indirection, and compel your Representatives to stand fast by the plain Anti-Slavery proviso of the Jefferson Ordinance of 1787.

California, in 1842, contained, it is said, about 25,000 civilized people, one-half of them christianized Indians, participating in civil Government. New Mexico, according to the best accounts, embraces a population of from 75,000 to 100,000 people, only one-fourth, of the white race, the rest being civilized Indians, or the descendants of Indians and whites. The two Territories have always had distinct and separate institutions and populations.

And yet, the proposition of Senator Douglas contemplates the fusion of these alien elements under one State Government, without the slightest regard to the views or wishes of these distant people!

Again: The smaller portion of the population is at one extremity of California, the larger at the opposite extremity of New Mexico—both Territories comprise an area of 516,078 square miles or 337,000,000 acres—eight times as much as all New England, 123,000,000 acres more than were comprised in the area of the original thirteen States of this Union. And yet this proposition would organize the two portions of this population, separated by intervening deserts and mountains, at two extremes of an aggregate territory more extensive by 171,854 square miles than the whole of the original States of this Union, as one State, under one State Government! Could anything be devised so reasonable, so practicable?

New Mexico, as we have seen, contains about three times the population of California, but the former is to merge its name in the State of California! How judicious this treatment of a new population conquered by our arms, and which can only be conciliated by honest dealing!

But the bill does not organize a State Government. It provides for a kind of provisional Government, to be instituted by the United States; that provisional Government controls the entire preliminary movement for the calling of a Convention to form a State constitution, which is then to be submitted to Congress, with an application for admission into the Union. During the existence of this provisional machinery, the Territories are open to the incursions of Slavery, and good care is taken to secure the appointment and management of this machinery, in the hands of President Polk, should the bill be forced through this session.

Look at the details. These immense Territories, far greater than the area of our original Union, are to be divided into two judicial districts, with a United States judge, attorney, and marshal, for each—and these functionaries are to be "appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Who is the President? James K. Polk, who has pledged himself to veto any bill excluding slavery from these Territories; and the slaveholding power in the Senate is strong enough, were he wanting, to prevent the appointment of any judge, attorney, or marshal, not favorable to its pretensions. To show that all its vigilance and energy would be aroused, we have but to ascertain the functions of these judicial officers. We shall see that they are to be mere executive officers—creatures of the Executive Power in Washington. Wednesday, the 13th, Mr. Douglas sent to the Chair the following, which he intends to propose at the proper time as an amendment to the bill admitting California into the Union as a State; it was ordered to be printed:

"Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted,* That the district judges, attorneys, and marshals, herein provided to be appointed, are hereby authorized and empowered to *lay off said territory into election districts*, for the election of seventy-five delegates to a Convention to form a Constitution for the said State of California, and *to apportion the number of delegates to said districts according to the number of voters in each, according to the best information they may be able to obtain; to prescribe the time and place of holding the elections, and to designate the persons who shall conduct the same; and also to prescribe the time and place for the assembling of said Convention.*

"Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted,* That all citizens of the United States, resident within the limits of said Territory, including all Mexican citizens who have become citizens of the United States under the eighth article of the treaty referred to in the first section of this act, shall be entitled to vote at said election of delegates to the constitutional Convention: *Provided, That no person shall vote at said election except white male inhabitants who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.*"

The fifth section, as will be seen by examining the words we have placed in italics, secures to these six functionaries the absolute control of the entire series of preliminary movements to the organization of a Constitution. They may appoint the Convention at such time and place as shall subserve any particular purpose of their own. They may apportion delegates so as to secure a majority in the Convention of their own creatures. They may virtually exclude and admit at the ballot-box whom they please. And lest they should prove false to the policy of the parties that appointed them, the sixth section moreover provides for the exclusion of one-half of the voting population of California, and three-fourths of the voting population of New Mexico—whose voice, it is well understood, would prohibit Slavery in the new State.

And this infernal attempt to open the door to the introduction of Slavery into our new empire, under the cover of a State Government, to be organized virtually by the Government in Washington, is coolly proposed in the American Senate as a compromise, on which all contending parties may fraternally harmonize! And Wilmot Proviso Whigs and Democrats are preparing to consider it seriously, when every honest man in Congress, whatever his views on the general question of Slavery, should blush at the bare suspicion that he could be brought to give it countenance.

A characteristic episode took place on the presentation of this beautiful amendment. Mr. Douglas intimated his judgment that the whole bill should go to the Committee on Territories.

"Mr. Butler suggested that the Committee on Territories was not the proper committee to which this subject should be referred. The Senator from Illinois proposed to bring in California as a State, and hence, according to the usage of the body, it should go to the Committee on the Judiciary. He was not influenced by personal considerations in making this suggestion, inasmuch as he was a member of both committees, but by a sense of propriety.

"Mr. Douglas briefly replied, that in other cases of a like character, such bills had been referred to the Committee on Territories, and hence he had given this the same direction; but he was not tenacious on the subject."

We know that, Mr. Douglas. You would be quite willing to see your bill put out to such nurses. Does the reader want an explanation? Here it is:

The Committee on Territories is composed as follows: Mr. Douglas, chairman; Messrs. Bright, Clayton, Butler, and Davis of Massachusetts. It so happens, that three out of the five are not entirely *reliable*, in the South Carolina meaning of the word. Whereas, the Committee on the Judiciary is so constituted, that if the precious device of Mr. Douglas were not entirely perfect, every flaw would at once be mended. Its members are—Mr. Butler, (chairman;) Messrs. Berrien, Westcott, Downs, Dayton—all of them, except the last, standing foremost among the most ultra slaveholders of the Senate!

But the two sentinels over the claims of Slavery talked the matter over, as if they were the most artless gentlemen in the world, with no ulterior object whatever.

We repeat what we have often said, that there is no branch of our Government from which Liberty has less to hope, and more to fear, than from the Senate of the United States.

AN ANALYSIS OF TWO IMPORTANT VOTES IN THE HOUSE.

Dr. Palfrey last week (see proceedings) asked leave to introduce a bill as follows:

AN ACT to repeal all acts of Congress establishing or maintaining slavery and the slave trade within the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted, &c., That all acts, and parts of acts, of Congress, heretofore passed, by which the institution of domestic slavery or the slave trade within the District of Columbia has been established, continued, or maintained, or is now upheld or supported, be, and the same are hereby, repealed

The question was taken on the motion to grant leave to introduce the bill, and it was decided in the negative. We here present the following table of the votes of the members and the absentees or non-voters from the free States:

DEMOCRATS.

Yeas.

Darling, Wis.	Smart, Me.
Dickinson, O.	Starkweather, N. Y.
Faran, O.	Stuart, Mich.
Johnson, N. H.	Sawyer, O.
Lawrence, N. Y.	Tuck, N. H.
Lord, N. Y.	Thurston, R. I.
Lahm, O.	Thompson, Iowa.
Morris, O.	Thompson, Pa.
McClelland, Mich.	Wentworth, Ill.
Peaslee, N. H.	Wilmot, Pa.—21.
Petrie, N. Y.	

Nays.

Brown, Pa.	Miller, O.
Clark, Me	McClernand, Ill.
Ficklin, Ill.	Richardson, Ill.
C. J. Ingersoll, Pa.	Robinson, Ia.
Kennon, O.	Smith, Ill.
Lynde, Wis.	Strong, Pa.
Leffler, Iowa.	Wiley, Me.—15.
Mann, Pa.	

Absent.

Birdsall, N. Y.	Jenkins, N. Y.
Bridges, Pa.	Murphy, N. Y.
Brodhead, Pa.	Maclay, N. Y.
Bingham, N. Y.	Nicoll, N. Y.
Clapp, Me.	Peck, Vt.
Collins, N. Y.	Pettit, Ia.
Cummins, O.	Richey, O.
Cathcart, Ia.	Rockhill, Ia.
Edsall, N. J.	Turner, Ill.
Fries, O.	Wick, Ia.
Hammons, Me.	Williams, Me.—23.
Henley, Ia.	

WHIGS.

Yeas.

Abbott, Mass.	Lawrence, N. Y.
Belcher, Me.	Marvin, N. Y.
Blackmar, N. Y.	Mullen, N. Y.
Blanchard, Pa.	Marsh, Vt.
Collamer, Vt.	Nelson, N. Y.
Cranston, R. I.	Palfrey, Mass.
Conger, N. Y.	Putnam, N. Y.
Canby, O.	Rockwell, Mass.
Dixon, Conn.	Rockwell, Conn.
Dunn, Ia.	Rumsey, N. Y.
Eckert, Pa.	Reynolds, N. Y.
Embree, Ia.	Root, O.
Freedley, Pa.	Smith, Conn.
Grinnell, Mass	St. John, N. Y.
Gott, N. Y.	Silvester, N. Y.
Greeley, N. Y.	Slingerland, N. Y.
Gregory, N. J.	Strohm, Pa.
Giddings, O.	Taylor, O.
Henry, Vt	Tallmadge, N. Y.
Hale, Mass.	Van Dyke, N. J.
Hubbard, Conn.	Vinton, O.
Holmes, N. Y.	Wilson, N. H.
Hall, N. Y.	White, N. Y.
King, Mass.	Warren, N. Y.—49.
Kellogg, N. Y.	

Nays.

Butler, Pa.	Lincoln, Ill.
Brady, Pa.	Sherrill, N. Y.
Irvin, Pa.	Thompson, Ia.—7.
Levin, Pa.	

Absent.

Ashmun, Mass.	Hampton, Pa.
Crowell, O.	J. R. Ingersoll, Pa.
Duer, N. Y.	Mann, Mass.
Dickey, Pa.	McIlvaine, Pa.
Duncan, O.	Nes, Pa.
Edwards, O.	Newell, N. J.
Evans, O.	Pollock, Pa.
Fisher, O.	Rose, N. Y.
Hudson, Mass	Stewart, Pa.
Hunt, N. Y.	Schenck, O.
Hampton, N. J.	Smith, Ia.—22.

	Whig.	Democratic.	Total.
Yeas - - -	49	21	70
Nays - - -	7	15	22
Absent - - -	22	23	48

Hunt, Whig, and Peck, Democrat, having been called out of the bar before the vote was taken, asked leave to record their names in the affirmative, but it was not granted.

Messrs. McIlvaine and Dickey, of Pennsylvania, (Whigs,) appeared in a card in the *Intelligencer*, stating that, if they had been present, they would have voted yea.

We class Tuck with the Democrats, but he is an *independent* Democrat.

Root's resolution proposed to instruct the Committee on Territories to report a bill organizing Territorial Governments for New Mexico and California, and excluding slavery therefrom. The vote from the free States, on analysis, presents the following results:

WHIGS.

Yeas.

Abbott, Mass.	Hampton, N. J.
Ashmun, Mass.	Irwin, Pa.
Belcher, Me.	King, Mass.
Blackmar, N. Y.	Kellogg, N. Y.
Blanchard, Pa.	Levin, Pa.
Butler, Pa.	Lincoln, Ill.
Brady, Pa	Lawrence, N. Y.
Collamer, Vt.	Marvin, N. Y.
Conger, N. Y.	Miller, O.
Canby, O.	McIlvaine, Pa.
Crowell, O.	Marsh, Vt.
Dixon, Conn.	Nelson, N. Y.
Duer, N. Y.	Palfrey, Mass.
Dickey, Pa.	Putnam, N. Y.
Duncan, O.	Pollock, Pa.
Dunn, Ia.	Reynolds, N. Y.
Edwards, O.	Rockwell, Mass.
Eckert, Pa.	Rumsey, N. Y.
Evans, O.	Rockwell, Conn.
Embree, Ia.	Root, O.
Freedley, Pa.	Smith, Conn.
Farrelly, Pa.	St. John, N. Y.
Fisher, O.	Sherrill, N. Y.
Grinnell, Mass.	Silvester, N. Y.
Gott, N. Y.	Slingerland, N. Y.
Greeley, N. Y.	Strohm, Pa.
Gregory, N. J.	Smith, Ia.
Giddings, O.	Thompson, Pa.
Henry, Vt.	Taylor, O.
Hale, Mass.	Tallmadge, N. Y.
Hudson, Mass.	Vinton, O.
Hubbard, Vt.	Wilson, N. H.
Hall, N. Y.	White, N. Y.
Hunt, N. Y.	Warren, N. Y.—68.

Nay.

Cranston, R. I.—1.

Absent.

Holmes, N. Y.	Newell, N. J.
Hampton, Pa.	Rose, N. Y.
J. R. Ingersoll, Pa.	Stewart, Pa.
Mann, Mass.	Schenck, O.
Nes, Pa.	Van Dyke, N. J.—10.

DEMOCRATS.

Yeas.

Bingham, Mich.	Nicoll, N. Y.
Clapp, Me.	Peaslee, N. H.
Cummins, O.	Petrie, N. Y.
Cathcart, Ia.	Peck, Vt.
Darling, Wis.	Richey, O.
Dickinson, O.	Robinson, Ia.
Faran, O.	Rockhill, Ia.
Fries, O.	Smart, Me.
Hammons, Me.	Starkweather, N. Y.
Henley, Ia.	Smith, Ill.
Johnson, N. H.	Stuart, Mich.
Jenkins, N. Y.	Strong, Pa.
Lawrence, N. Y.	Tuck, N. H.
Lord, N. Y.	Thurston, R. I.
Lynde, Wis.	Thompson, Iowa.
Lahm, O.	Thompson, Pa.
Morris, O.	Wick, Ia.
Mann, Pa.	Wentworth, Ill.
Maclay, N. Y.	Wilmot, Pa.
McClelland, Mich.	Wiley, Me.

Nays.

Brown, Pa.	Miller, O.
C. J. Ingersoll, Pa.	Murphy, N. Y.
Kennon, O.	Richardson, Ill.
Leffler, Iowa.	Sawyer, O.

Absent.

Birdsall, N. Y.	Ficklin, Ill.
Bridges, Pa.	McClernand, Ill.
Brodhead, Pa.	Pettit, Ia.
Clark, Me.	Turner, Ill.
Collins, N. Y.	Williams, Me.
Edsall, N. J.	

	Democratic.	Whig.	Total.
Yeas - - -	40	68	108
Nays - - -	8	1	9
Absent - - -	11	10	21

Of the absentees, twelve certainly, and six more probably, if they had been present, would have voted in the affirmative.

Roman, of Maryland, is set down as having voted for the resolution.

REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL—LOW POSTAGE.

In our last number we showed that if the reading and writing population of the United States, over twenty years of age, should send letters through the mail at the same rate per head as the same class of population in Great Britain, the number of letters annually passing through the mails would increase from 58,000,000 to 171,000,000; and that at two cents, uniform rate for all letters of half an ounce and under, these would yield only $130,000 less revenue than the present high and unequal rates.

This increase would take place without any increase in the cost of transportation. One hundred and thirteen millions of letters, the difference between 171,000,000 and 58,000,000, averaged at half an ounce, (too high an estimate,) would amount to 3,531,250 pounds per annum, or 9,674 pounds a day, for all the lines in the United States. Now, according to the statement of the Postmaster General, in seven days, from the 6th to the 12th day of August last, there passed through the City Post Office of Washington, 450 bags of free matter, weighing 35,560 pounds, averaging daily 5,078 pounds. Electioneering documents under frank, from a single office, weighing more than one-half of the daily weight in all the post offices of the United States, of the 113,000,000 letters, the probable increase over the present number, should the low rate of postage be adopted!

This brings us to the abuse of the franking privilege—the great obstacle to the successful working of any low postage system. It is astonishing how members of Congress can think of retaining this privilege. Not one good reason can be assigned for it. It is the instrument of enormous abuses. The only plausible reason why it should be allowed to members of Congress is, that their correspondence concerns not personal, but public business. This may be true to a great extent; but that *public* business is *local*, not *general*. The correspondence carried on between the representative and his constituents, is about *his interests or theirs*. In either case, we should like to know what reason or justice there is in making all the people of all the States bear the burthen of it. If his constituents would instruct him to carry out their views in relation to the Tariff, it is their business—let them pay their own postage. If they desire him to obtain the grant of certain school lands, or some facilities for running a railroad, or to attend to pension business for them, let them pay their own postage. Why must I contribute more than my share to sustain the Post Office Department in the shape of high postage, so as to enable them to carry on a voluminous correspondence, about *their* interests, free of postage?

But this use of the franking privilege, unjustifiable as it is, is tolerable compared with the gross frauds practiced under cover of it. The Postmaster General undertook to abate this evil, by charging postage on franked documents, where the frank was in one handwriting, and the address or superscription in another. But it excited the profound indignation of grave Senators, to such a degree, that they forthwith introduced a bill to prohibit so insolent an interference with their prerogatives. It was not to be tolerated that members of Congress should be restricted, as far as possible, to the legitimate use of the franking privilege. They must have the privilege of putting their frank upon any envelope, no matter what its destination, what it was to cover, by whom or to whom it was to be sent. Any one can see, that in this way a vast mass of private correspondence of individuals occupying no official station, writing upon no official business, might be carried on, *free*, by the grace of some complaisant Senator of Representative.

The worst prostitution of the privilege is to electioneering purposes. The country knows that members of Congress were on the spot here during the whole of the active period of the last Presidential canvass, for the purpose of freighting the mails for all sections with innumerable partisan documents, all *franked*. We again bring to notice the following facts stated by the Postmaster General. Speaking of the franking privilege, he says:

"It is now greater and more exclusively used than at any former period; and as the privilege is enlarged, the abuses under it increase. The immense mass of free matter sent through the mails necessarily requires a higher and more expensive grade of service, to enable the contractors to transport it. It is not unusual for coach service to be demanded, on routes yielding comparatively nothing, for the transportation of public documents and other free matter. Over one route a double daily line of four-horse post-coaches has become indispensable. Some estimate may be formed of the additional expense of transportation, from the fact, reported from the City Post Office, that in seven days, from the 6th until the 12th day of August last, inclusive, 450 bags of free matter, weighing 35,550 pounds, averaging daily 5,078 pounds, passed through his office.

"Upon inquiry, it appears that between the 1st of December and the 1st of October last, there were sent from the two Houses of Congress, through the mails, about five millions of copies of speeches and other matter weighing under two ounces, and about one hundred and seventy-seven thousand public documents, beside the letters written by the members of the House of Representatives; and there remained to be forwarded more than one-half of the public documents ordered to be printed at the last session. Such a mass of matter thrown upon the mails must necessarily add to the cost of transportation, retard the progress of the mails, and produce a great proportion of the failures that are made on the unimproved routes in the newer sections of the country.

"But this is not all. The Department is compelled to pay the postmasters whose compensation does not exceed two thousand dollars per annum, two cents for the delivery of each free letter or document."

And yet, in view of the total absence of all just reason for the franking privilege, of the gross frauds practiced under it, and its enormous abuses for the purpose of promoting party interests, and though it is well understood that its continuance will interfere with, if not prevent, the successful working of a low postage system, Mr. Goggin's new bill seriously proposes the mainte-

nance of this privilege! The People should look to this matter. Let them tell their representatives that they will not submit any longer to a system which takes money out of their pockets, to pay for the correspondence of these representatives—that they can see no more reason in paying five cents postage, while their representatives pay nothing, than they would in a law to tax them so much per head to enable the Honorable Mr. Fiddlesticks to send a cart-load of Buncombe speeches to his constituents, gratis, that they might see how proper it was for them to reëlect him.

In recommending a uniform rate of one cent on newspapers, the Postmaster General insists that they should be pre-paid. He certainly could not have weighed the consequences of such a policy. It is obviously unnecessary. That pre-payment should be demanded on pamphlets is reasonable, for it is quite common for them to remain dead in the office; but newspapers are almost always taken out, and when they are not, if the Postmasters do their duty, and advise the publishers of the fact, the mail is instantly relieved from their burthen. The easiest way to receive postage on newspapers is, to collect it from those who take them. One cent a week, to each subscriber for a weekly paper, is a tax readily paid, and nobody would feel it. Suppose pre-payment required, the tax would inevitably fall upon the publisher. He would have to pay an enormous sum for which he could expect no remuneration from his subscribers. They would not be willing to pay $2.50 for a paper now sent for $2. Say that our issue is 13,000 copies, the postage on them would be $130, which we must pay over in gold or silver to the post office in this city every week, before our papers could be mailed—or, $6,760 a year! If this simple presentation does not show every reader the utter impracticability, and, we must say, absurdity, of such a measure, he must be dull beyond all conception. There is not a publisher in the country that could survive such an imposition; and, as to the Post Office itself, the result would be, the loss of nearly all the revenue accruing from newspapers.

For the National Era.

ALDA.

BY MISS ALICE CAREY.

You would have loved her, had you seen,
The beauty of her life was prayer;
The sweet sky never wet with showers
A bed of yellow primrose flowers
As sunny as the lovely sheen
Of her loose hair.

O'er the low casement her soft hands
Twined tenderly the creeping vines;
Out in the woodland's shady glooms
Loved she to gather summer blooms,
And where, from yonder valley lands,
The river shines.

The rain was falling when she died,
The sky was dismal with its gloom,
And autumn's melancholy blight
Shook down the yellow leaves that night,
And mournfully the low winds sighed
About her tomb.

At midnight, near the gray old towers
That lift their lordly pride so high,
Was heard the dismal raven's croak,
From the red shadows of the oak,
And with her pale arms full of flowers,
The dead went by.

An old man now, with thin white hair,
Oft counts his beads beneath that tree;
Sometimes when noontide's glow is bright,
And sometimes in the lonesome night,
He breathes the dead girl's name in prayer,
On bended knee.

A shepherd boy—so runs the tale—
Once, as he pent his harmless flocks,
Crossed the sweet maid, her lap all full
Of lilies pied, and cowslips dull,
Weaving up fillets, red and pale,
For her long locks.

Sweetly the evestar lit the towers,
When, homeward riding from the chase,
Down from his coal-black steed there leapt
A courtier gay, whose dark plumes swept
A cloud of ringlets bound with flowers,
And love-lit face.

Summer is gone—the casement low,
With dead vines darkened—winds are loud;
Alda, no more the gray old towers
Shut from thee heaven's sweet border flowers—
Comb back the locks of golden glow,
And bring the shroud.

Lewis's Free Soil, Slavery, and Territorial Map of the United States. For sale at the Standard Office, New York.

This map shows, at once, the comparative extent of the Free and Slave States and Territories of the Union, and embraces a great deal of matter statistical and illustrative. It ought to be hung up by every fireside in the country, as a continual memento of the short-comings of our Republicanism.

ITEMS.

The Democracy, by submitting to the guidance of the Slaveholders, have lost their two principal States, New York and Pennsylvania, without making anything in the South. They see this, and some of their newspapers are grumbling rather fiercely, indicating a disposition to rid themselves of Slavery-dictation. The organ of the Administration strokes them down gently, and talks to them in soothing terms of the fidelity of the "Mother of States" to the party, and of the constancy of the great body of the Democrats in the South. We shall see whether such coaxing will avail to retain the Democratic party of the free States as the humble ally of the Slave Power.

Perhaps it may have learned from the *Union* that it can get along very well without Pennsylvania and New York—perhaps, too, it may be able to get along charmingly at the next election without a single free State, giving up everything for the sake of keeping company with the preëminent Democracy of South Carolina, Alabama, and Texas.

Willis's Muse was seized with a a fit of admiration just before the election, and favored the public, through the medium of the *National Intelligencer*, with a notable song, in glorification of the hero of Buena Vista, the most remarkable sentiment of which is contained in the following extract:

"*Now, if you'd like to know the school*
Where Presidents best learn to rule—
Zach's life is just THE VERY ONE
GOD CHOSE TO TRAIN A WASHINGTON."

The meaning of which is, that, according to God's will, the best qualified men for the Presidency of the United States are those whose lives have been spent in the *camp*. A very pretty sentiment for the Bard of the Great Peace Party!

"Old Zach Has Come."—The Taylor men resort to all sorts of expressions to show their profound admiration of the wonderful revolution in the political world. One says it will greatly "strengthen respectable men;" another, that the "heroic age of the Republic has come again;" another, that we are now to have "a golden era;" another sings of "the jubilee; another, of the rising glories of "a millennium;" but some, agonizing for words to express all they feel, write down in great staring capitals, "OLD ZACH HAS COME!"

Something for Expectants.—As our city will soon be crowded with office-hunters, with the most intense desire to take care of the country and to be taken care of by it, we commend to their attention the history of Peter Brush, as written by the late Joseph C. Neale, of Philadelphia:

"The Used-up Politician.—Peter Brush was in a dilapidated condition—out at the elbows, out at the knees, out of pocket and out of spirits, and out in the streets—an 'out and outer' in every respect. He sat on the curb-stone, leaning his head upon his hands, his elbow being placed upon a stepping-stone. Mr. Brush had for some time been silent, absorbed in deep thought, which he relieved at intervals by spitting through his teeth, forlornly, into the gutter. At length, heaving a deep sigh, he spoke—

"'They used to tell me, put not your trust in princes, and I havn't. None of 'em ever wanted to borrow money of me, and I never see any of them to borrow nothing of them. Princes! pooh! put not your trust in politicianers! Them's my sentiments. There's no two mediums about that. Havn't I been serving my country like a patriot for this five years; going to meetings; huzzaing my day-lights out, and getting blue as blazes; havn't I broken windows, got licked fifteen times, carried I don't know how many black eyes and broken noses for the good of the Commonwealth and the purity of legal rights, and for what? Why for 'nix.

"'If any good has come of it, the country has put the whole in her pocket, and swindled me out of my earnings. I can get no office. Republics is ungrateful! I don't want any reward for my services! I only want to be took good care of, and have nothing to do. Being taken good care of was the main thing. Republics is ungrateful, I'm swegged if they aint! I love my country, and I want an office, I didn't care what, so it was fat and easy. I wanted to take care of my country, and I wanted my country to take care of me. Headwork is the trade I'm for; talking, that's my line. Talking in the oyster cellar, in the bar-rooms, anywhere. I can talk all day, only stopping for meals, and wet my whistle. But parties is all alike. I've been on all sides, tried 'em, and I know; none of 'em gave me anything, and I've a great mind to knock off, and call it half a day.'"

Republican Despotism.—The following is the reply of a letter, just received at the office of the Republic, from one of the border slaveholding States. For obvious reasons, we suppress the name and residence of the writer.—*Philadelphia Republic.*

"November 3, 1848.

"Respected Sir: I hope you will pardon me for addressing you this note—yet imperious duty compels me. The young man who subscribed to your paper for me, doubtless, forgot that he was doing what is expressly forbidden by the laws of Maryland. Respect for those laws induces me to respectfully request you to discontinue sending your paper to me. Were I in a State where the bright star of freedom sheds its inspiring rays on the white as well as those of our color, then I would read your paper with delight. Again, allow me to reiterate—I hope you will pardon me for addressing you this note. I would have paid the postage for this note, but our postmaster is so very inquisitive.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant."

This is all nonsense. It is probable the writer of that note is an emigrant from some Northern State. Yankees are very apt to prove cowardly when they go to the South. There is no law in Maryland against such papers as the *Republic* and *Era*. We have many subscribers in that State. But one, that we know of, was ever molested for taking the *Era*. Some busybody undertook to have him prosecuted; an indictment, we believe, was actually found, but the Court promptly dismissed it.

Letter from Mr. Clay.—The Democrats at the South were charging Mr. Fillmore with being an Abolitionist; Mr. Payne, of Virginia, wrote to Mr. Clay on the subject, to which the following reply was sent:

Ashland, *September* 19, 1848.

Dear Sir: In answer to your letter, I take pleasure in saying that *I do not believe Mr. Fillmore is an Abolitionist; on the contrary, I believe that he would be as much opposed to any interference with slavery, as it exists in the several States, by Congress, as you would be.* In the extra session of 1841 he and I served as chairmen in corresponding committees of the two Houses, which brought us often together. I found him able, enlightened, indefatigable in the discharge of his responsible duties at the head of the Committee of Ways and Means, and patriotic.

I am, respectfully, your friend,
H. Clay.

William G. Payne, Esq.

Look at the sentence in italics. Mr. Clay assumes that Mr. Fillmore is not an Abolitionist, because he is opposed to *interference by Congress with slavery as it exists in the several States.* If there be no Abolitionists but those who believe in the rightfulness and expediency of such interference, there are not many in the country. The Anti-Slavery people of the North, with but few exceptions, have disclaimed any purpose to invoke such interference.

A Wrong Impression.—The tendency of the habit of Southern politicians representing Northern Presidential candidates as Abolitionists, is laughably illustrated by the following anecdote, told by Dr. Elder. The Democratic stumpers, during the Presidential campaign of 1840, were in the habit of charging General Harrison with Abolitionism; the slaves everywhere heard it, and when the news of his election reached them, the poor creatures thought their time had come at last. Early on the morning after the report reached the place spoken of, a slaveholder ordered his man Tom to take a bag and go to the mill for some meal. Tom straightened himself up before his master to his full height, and, looking as independent as self-ownership could make him, replied, "Is dat more dan one man's work, Boss?" "No," replied his master. "Well, den," said Tom, "you can just go to de mill for yourself; please de Lord, old Tip's 'lected, and I a free man." The master was a little surprised by the demonstration, and Tom suffered some for his mistake.

☞ We commend the Prospectus of the New York Evening Post to the attention of our readers. Under the conduct of one of the first poets of America, it is one of the best of political journals. It is an advocate of true Democracy.

THE WEEKLY EVENING POST,
FOR ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM.

We take this opportunity to remind our readers that the year for their subscription has expired, and it will be necessary for them to renew their subscriptions, unless they intend to drop the paper. To their good will we are sensible that the success which has attended our efforts, in providing a weekly sheet for that large class who agree with us in political opinion, is mainly owing.

Since the commencement of the enterprise, seven years since, with a few hundred subscribers, the list has been constantly increasing, until it has now reached more than as many thousands.

In order, however, to facilitate the circulation of our paper in a still greater degree, we have concluded to reduce the price to the low sum of ONE DOLLAR per annum to all subscribers, without discrimination. Taking into consideration the amount and value of the matter in our paper, we do not hesitate to say that at this price our weekly paper is not equalled in cheapness by any in the United States.

Bear in mind—the price of the Weekly Evening Post, from the first of November, will be one dollar per annum, *invariably in advance.*

THE CAMPAIGN SUBSCRIBERS

are especially at this time appealed to. Many of this class have but recently become acquainted with the contents of our paper; and if they have approved of our course, we invite them to continue their subscription. The *price* of the paper, it will be borne in mind, will continue to be the same as that of the campaign paper.

POSTMASTERS AND OTHER AGENTS

are respectfully invited to continue their valuable aid. We are sensible that we must look to the good will and personal exertions of our friends, if we expect that our circulation should enlarge. It is only through their friendly assistance in recommending it to their neighbors, and laying it before them for their occasional inspection, that we can expect it to become generally appreciated. We hope we may rely upon them to continue their good offices. Meantime we shall endeavor to deserve them by the industry of our labors, the accuracy of our reports, the sincerity of our intentions, and the promulgation of political views friendly to the best good of society.

Agents who may feel thus disposed to aid us will be entitled to *Eleven Copies for Ten Dollars.*

The Proprietors of the *Weekly Evening Post* publish also the

EVENING POST FOR THE COUNTRY,

a semi-weekly paper, on the following terms:

A single copy, payable in advance - - - $3.00
For ten copies to one address - - - - 20.00

Or for any number between FIVE and TEN, two dollars per copy.

These prices will be strictly adhered to, and when the time paid for expires, the paper will be uniformly stopped, so that no person need hesitate to take it, from an apprehension that he will be persecuted by duns, or unable to get rid of the paper when tired of it.

It is not our custom to appoint local agents to solicit subscriptions, nor to place great reliance on agents at all. But any person may aid us if he will, and help himself if he chooses, by taking this Prospectus, and asking those who like the Evening Post to hand him the money for a year, which he can remit at Club price, and thus obtain pay for his time and trouble. Subscriptions accompanied by payments are respectfully solicited.

New York, December, 1848. Dec. 21.

LATER FROM EUROPE.

Last week the *Canada* arrived at New York, and the *Niagara* at Boston, the former having left Liverpool the 25th ultimo, the latter the 2d instant.

Rome.—A revolution has taken place in Rome—the people had risen against the Pope, conquered him, and dictated a ministry.

Austria is comparatively quiet for a season. By dint of butchering, Despotism enjoys a transient tranquillity.

Prussia is yet heaving, but Berlin is quiet, though the struggle is going on between the Democratic and Monarchical elements.

France.—In the Assembly, a resolution of confidence in Cavaignac has passed by a vote of 503 to 34. His chances for the Presidency have increased, though a manifesto issued by Louis Napoleon is winning over the fickle populace. Cavaignac has despatched a brigade to Italy, to secure the personal liberty of the Pope.

England.—The cholera in Great Britain is on the decrease.

Viscount Melbourne died on the 24th.

The arguments of counsel in the case in error of Mr. Smith O'Brien having been brought to a close, and the Court having delivered its judgment, the Irish journals are now almost destitute of news.

Liverpool Corn Market, Dec. 2.—Influenced by the dull reports from London and Wakefield, our corn market this morning is exceedingly tame, and hardly anything doing. The prices of yesterday are quite nominal, though, to effect sales, holders would perhaps concede to a slight decline in price, say for Indian corn and flour.

Liverpool Cotton Market, Dec. 2.—The market this morning opens with a steady appearance. The demand, however, is not, up to the present moment, extensive; but, as holders supply the market sparingly, full prices are obtained. The sales may reach 5,000 to 6,000 bales.

The Pope.—Paris advices of December 1 have come to hand. They state that the Pope had left Rome secretly, and was on his way to France.

Ibrahim Pacha.—The news of the death of Ibrahim Pacha is confirmed.

ELECTIONS.

Indiana.—James Whitcomb, Governor of Indiana, has been elected United States Senator for six years, in the place of Mr. Hannegan, from the 4th of March next. Mr. Hannegan's pro-slavery course doomed him. Mr. Whitcomb's position in regard to the Wilmot Proviso is defined in his late message to the Legislature, as follows:

"The acquisition of this territory has given rise to a question now occupying too large a space in the public mind to be passed over in silence. Its division into separate Governments, and the establishment of the necessary organic laws, must occupy the early attention of Congress; and the question is, shall this territory hereafter be free or slave territory?

"Decided as the opinion of the people of Indiana is, against the institution of human slavery, yet they have ever manifested a determination not to interfere with the constitutional rights of any of our sister States on this subject. They love that glorious Union which was framed by the Conscript Fathers of the earlier days of the Republic, and to which, under Providence, we are indebted for our present eminence among the nations of the earth. But the present question does not regard Slavery in the States or in any State. It refers solely to the propriety of its existence hereafter, in a territory now free. This territory has come to us free; it is now free, and in my opinion it should be made free, and that every constitutional and legal means should be adopted to continue it free. Nor do I think our Southern brethren would, in that case, have any well-founded cause of complaint."

A. G. Dodge and George W. Jones have been elected United States Senators from Iowa, both Democrats.

Virginia.—John B. Floyd, of Washington county, (a Democrat,) has been elected Governor of Virginia.

FURTHER ELECTION RETURNS.

ARKANSAS.

The official returns in Arkansas foot up as follows:

Cass	9,300
Taylor	7,588
Cass's majority	1,712
Total vote	16,888
1844.	
Polk	9,546
Clay	5,504
Polk's majority	4,042
Total vote	15,050
Democratic loss	246
Whig gain	2,084

The voters of the State must number over 20,000. A large number of Democratic voters staid at home, being dissatisfied with a Northern candidate.

ILLINOIS.

Taylor	53,215
Cass	56,629
Van Buren	15,804
Total vote	125,648
Cass's majority over Taylor	3,414
Taylor and Van Buren over Cass	12,390
1844.	
Polk	58,599
Clay	45,750
Birney	3,576
Total vote	107,019
Polk over Clay	12,849
Democratic loss since 1844	1,970
Whig gain	7,465
Absolute majority for the Democrats in 1844	9,279
Absolute majority *against* the Democrats in 1848	12,390

In the face of this, the majority of Representatives from Illinois in Congress, we fear, are on the point of betraying the cause of Freedom.

MICHIGAN.

Taylor	23,949
Cass	30,687
Van Buren	10,389
Total vote	65,025
Cass over Taylor	6,738
Taylor and Van Buren over Cass	3,651
1844.	
Polk	27,703
Clay	24,237
Birney	3,632
Total vote	55,572
Increase of Democratic vote in 4 years	2,984
Loss of Whig vote	297
Increase on Liberty vote	6,757
Increase of total vote	9,453

IOWA.

Taylor	10,557
Cass	12,051
Van Buren	1,126
Scattering	990
Total vote	24,724
Cass over Taylor	1,494
Taylor and all others over Cass	622
Democratic majority in 1846	816
Democratic loss in 2 years	1,438

TOTAL FREE SOIL VOTE.

The Total Free Soil Vote in the Union is 300,000, including the votes cast for Gerrit Smith, and scattering votes. We shall soon publish it.

OHIO LEGISLATURE.

Columbus, Ohio, *December* 15, 1848.

Dr. Bailey: I came to this capital on Friday last, on private business, and may stay some weeks. So long as I do stay, I will occasionally transmit to you the spirit of the times. They are marvellously changed. It makes one feel quite old to observe the great trees that have grown since our youth. When in 1839, at Massillon, I proposed the Liberty party, even Anti-Slavery was greatly incensed. It was the perfect jest of the knowing ones. Now, Whiggery, in the midst of her great triumph, is on her knees; with lifted hand and upturned eye, she humbly implores, put these Free-Soilers, into our hands, as thou didst the Anti-Masons, or our glory is departed from us forever! And Democracy, then fiercer than the untamed lion, is now very desirous to be the lawful guardian of the lamb Free Soil. Let us trust ourselves to ourselves! Let God only be our counsellor! Let all that will, come to our platform! Let all that will not, be against us!

You and your readers have doubtless seen the difficulty in organizing the Legislature. It is mere party strife. If Pugh and Pierce, the members from Hamilton county, are admitted, the Cass Democracy will have a majority of one on joint ballot, provided one Democratic Free Soil Senator and two Democratic Free Soil members shall go with them—a matter very uncertain If Pugh and Pierce should be rejected, all the Taylor Whigs and Whig Free Soilers could, on joint ballot, give a majority of two. But, horror of horrors! Dr. Townsend, of Lorain, an old and tried Liberty man, will do just as he thinks right! and over him the wand of Whiggery has lost all its power. So things are.

In the Senate, the Whigs intended, after many ballotings, to have elected Mr. Beaver; but, before they got quite at it, the Democrats, without the smallest preconcert of action with him, put in Mr. Randal. I need write no labored eulogy on either of them. It is quite enough to say they are both Free-Soilers—men who are no disgrace, even to that party.

The House is yet unorganized. It may be expected to organize about Monday. Then we shall have a long, dull debate on contested elections. A new Constitution should provide, that all cases of contest which cannot be settled in a single day, shall be referred back to the people. They can do it cheaper—better.

Each of the old parties manifests the strongest possible affection for the Free Soil party. It is hoped it is all disinterested and true. Yet I have no confidence in the old leaders, and especially in the Taylor leaders. Men who professed much Anti-Slavery, and yet electioneered and voted for General Taylor, must repent long, very long, before I could have the least confidence in them.

A. B.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

Gibson Square, London, *Dec.* 1, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The honorable and Rev. Baptist Noel is about to leave the established church, and on Sunday next he is to take leave of his congregation in Bedford Row. It has been long thought that with his views of the evils resulting from Church and State connection, and which has shown in the case of the Canton de Vaud he has so fully demonstrated, he was not consistent in giving his personal sanction to that connection in this country, he has at length thought so himself, and will forthwith act on his convictions. It was his intention to remain in "the church" some time longer, but the Bishop of London sent for him, and requested him to retire at once from John street Chapel, and not preach again. I understand that he defied Charles James to drive him from his pulpit, and that on next Sunday he will preach in defiance of the Episcopal threat. Mr. Noel has a work in preparation, on the subject of his secession, which I understand will be ready for publication in about three weeks.

Ecclesiastical matters engage, and are likely to engage, a great deal of attention here for a long time to come. Church rates are being in various places levied illegally, as in St. George's, Southworth, and the neighborhood of Bayswater, where many people are refusing payment, and subjecting themselves to the annoyances resulting from the tender mercies of men duly ordained and authorized to preach the gospel of peace. I trust something will be soon done to bring this long pending grievance to an end, and save conscientious people from the annoyances to which they are exposed.

The principal English topic just now is the Yorkshire election of a successor to Lord Morpeth. Sir Culling Eardley Eardley, having been requested to stand on the retirement of the youthful son of Lord Fitzwilliam, has presented himself to the constituency, and his successes up to this point encourage the hope of his return. This hope is the more likely to be realized if Mr. Roebuck should not be induced, as requested, to divide with him the liberal interest. Sir Culling is not satisfactory to the anti-slavery friends on the question of slave produce, as he has declared himself against prohibitory duties. On all other questions his views are such as I believe would induce most of your readers to desire his success. He is a Free-Trader, and is to be supported by the friends of the League; he is opposed to the endowment of the Romish priesthood in Ireland, and so has the support of the Morning Herald, and I suppose, generally, of the Evangelical church party, especially those connected with the Evangelical alliance; he is in favor of household suffrage, and in this respect, as in most others, has the advantage of his opponent, Mr. Denison, who seems to have very little idea of the progressive improvement of society. He thinks a great deal of individual advancement; he tells the people to get educated by the State, and that they may become Judges, Prime Ministers, and Lord Chancellors, and instances the case of his own father, who became a Judge, though, when a boy, he walked up to London, being unable to pay the price of a conveyance. Sir Culling is also a great advocate for large retrenchments, and especially in reference to military and naval affairs; and should he get his seat will, I hope, coöperate with Mr. Cobden, who is to bring forward in the next session a proposal for a great reduction in our military and naval expenses.

I am happy to state, while on this topic, that the minds of the people here are being educated in peace principles, and that the work is advancing at a very gratifying rate. Mr. Burnet gave on last Tuesday week a most excellent lecture, at the Hall of Commerce, against standing armies; and last Tuesday another was given at the same place by Henry Vincent, who spoke for about two hours to a most attentive audience, on the superiority of moral to physical force. Elihu Burritt is to follow on Tuesday next. I believe these lectures will do immense good. I observed on Tuesday last that the people indicated by the enthusiastic cheers which they gave, when favorite topics were alluded to, that on these topics their minds were thoroughly made up, while on the duty of using only moral force in bringing about political reforms, their cheers were less vigorous, but their attention most profound, indicating the position of men who were hearing and judging, and willing to learn.

I have before remarked to you, that the cause of progressive reform lost much by the physical force demonstrations made at the beginning of this year, and place the advocates of moral means for a time at a disadvantage. I see illustrations of this remark in every direction; but I am glad to notice, also, that this year is not going to close without some revival of the good and holy cause which violence had so much damaged.

Much is being done now for the purpose of showing people that we can do without soldiers, and I believe that the sentiment which is growing on this subject, and on the question of endowments, will materially damage the government of Lord John Russell, unless he will condescend to admit into his head a little of that light which is diffusing itself around him in every direction.

We have heard, for the last week, rumors of a contemplated change in the ministry, and, as is usual in such cases, have been favored with programmes by some of the journals which are emulous of giving the public the earliest intelligence. These statements are of no value, however, unless as they may be regarded as those shadows which coming events cast before them. As in any case it may be expected that the West Riding will send in a representative opposed to Lord John's Popery endowment scheme, and as the representatives of the West Riding have formerly been regarded as fair exponents of the national mind, Lord John must receive "a heavy blow and a great discouragement."

The public attention has been, for the last two or three weeks, directed to two or three proposals for illumination by means of electricity. I was present at the Hanover Rooms when Mr. Staite's patent was exhibited; and, on Tuesday, the same kind of light was displayed from the front of the National Gallery, and served most gloriously to illustrate the Nelson column, and to astonish every one in Trafalgar square and Charing Cross. Another method of producing this light was shown about ten days ago on the great Western railway, when the effect was most gratifying, and every one was led to wish that it could always be used for railway signals.

This light, I believe, whatever may be the peculiarity of the arrangement by which it is produced, is simply the light with which you are familiar, as the result of the escape of electricity through charcoal points. A very fine adjustment is made for the purpose of presenting the charcoal surfaces so as to secure a constant and even action; and I understand that at the exhibitions which have taken place, this result was not effected without much difficulty and the fear of failure. If this light should come into operation, I think it would do only for large areas and very conspicuous places, from which it would diffuse itself over an extensive circle of radiation. In such circumstances it would bear the expense of scientific superintendence, without which I think it would be a failure.

Mr. Macauley has diligently employed the leisure he has had, since his retirement from the Ministry and Parliament, on his History of England from the time of James II; it is a most elaborate and interesting book, and will itself form an epoch in the historiography of our country. It is remarkable not only for breadth of conception, but for the minute and microscopic accuracy with which it notes small matters which other historians have passed over as unworthy of notice, but which treated by Mr. Macauley's hand are seen to be part and parcel of English history. We are expecting in a few days to get hold of the interesting work of Mr. Leyard on the Marbles of Nineveh; and a very splendid work, illustrative of the marbles, is to be published by subscription. Unhappily, in many instances, these drawings will be the only records we shall have of Assyrian sculpture, the fragile originals having perished so soon after they were brought to light.

Berlin and Vienna continue to present to us two most instructive pictures—the first, showing the superiority of moral force and passive resistance, and the other, illustrating the declaration that they who take the sword, shall perish by the sword. In the former place there has been no bloodshed, and the people have endured till the time of convening the Diet in the fortress of Brandenburg, and where the King cannot gather members enough to give legality to his proceedings; and from the latter, we have this morning the news of two more military executions of literary men, for the part they took in promulgating the late outbreak.

Cavaignac has confuted his opponents in a very able speech, and obtained a large majority in his favor, although he could not deny that he allowed the late insurrection to gain a strength which more timely opposition would have prevented. Poor Louis Bonaparte is bidding very high for the suffrages of the people, in his address, which has a strange resemblance to that of Jack Cade, who, you will remember, said, "there shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny; the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer."

I am, dear sir, yours most truly,

W. O.

Southport, *November* 23, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Dear Sir: In the perusal of your paper of November 9th, I noticed an interesting article from Judge McLean, copied from the Cincinnati Gazette, in which was the following:

"England has no law prohibiting slavery, and yet 'Sommersett,' a slave, was declared to be free, by the Court of King's Bench, when he put his foot upon the soil of England. And on the same principle, if a slave, with the consent of his master, go to a free State, he is made free, not because slavery is prohibited in such State, but because there is no law which sanctions it."

Now, sir, suppose a slave, *without* the consent of his master, go to a free State, is he not upon the same principle, and for the same reason, made free?

Again: If the Congress of the United States cannot successfully demand from England the delivery of a fugitive slave, upon what principle can it be made to appear that they have a right to demand the delivery of a slave who has escaped to the State of New York? Will you favor your readers with some light upon this subject?

It appears to me, if the remarks from Judge McLean, to which I have referred, are correct, that the law of 1793, conferring powers upon the officers of Government to capture and carry back to their masters, slaves who have escaped from bondage, is wholly worthless.

Respectfully, &c.,
D. Brainerd Nelson.

The usual reply made to such questions is, that the Constitution of the United States interposes an exception to this great principle of the common law, by providing that "persons held to service or labor under the law of one State, escaping into another, shall not be released from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." This provision, according to the decisions of the Supreme Court and all other judicial tribunals in this country, embraces the case of escaping slaves, and secures their recapture. We believe such was the intention of the provision, which is therefore repugnant to natural right, and fruitful of discords between the States.—*Ed. Era.*

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

Monday, December 18, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. Dickinson presented a memorial from Geo. Wilkes, asking the construction of a railroad, by the Government, from the Missouri river to the Pacific, and presenting a plan for the same. Referred.

Mr. Douglas presented a memorial from Henry O. Reilly, asking the aid and authority of Congress to enable him to establish a telegraphic communication between the Mississippi valley, California, and Oregon. Referred.

Mr. Cameron and Mr. Sturgeon presented several petitions from citizens of Pennsylvania, praying an alteration of the tariff. Also, memorials in favor of a reduction of postage. Referred.

Mr. Douglas introduced a bill granting the right of way, and making a donation of lands to aid in the construction of a railroad to connect the Mississippi with the chain of Northern lakes. Read twice, and referred.

ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA AS A STATE.

On motion of Mr. Douglas, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill for the admission of California, as a State, into the Union; which he moved to have referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Berrien objected to the reference, and cited several precedents to show that bills of this character should be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Douglas said, that if the general rule had been to refer bills, for the admission of new States, to the Judiciary Committee, he did not desire to depart from that rule in the present instance. He viewed the matter, however, in a different light. The facts were these: For many years a Territorial Committee had existed in the House of Representatives before it was established in this body. The province of that Committee was to take charge of bills of this description. So far as he knew, the practice was uniform. There having been no Territorial Committee in the Senate, the practice here obtained of referring bills of that description to the Committee on the Judiciary. A few months after the rule was established here, creating a Committee on Territories, the bills with reference to Iowa and Florida were brought into the Senate—the rule being adopted, I think, in December, 1844, and this occurring in 1845. Last year the House passed a bill for the admission of Wisconsin into the Union, and sent it to this body. I moved its reference to the Committee on Territories; the same objection was then made that is now made, but the Senate decided the appropriate reference of that bill to be to the Committee on Territories. I examined the Journal on Saturday, with the assistance of the Secretaries, and I find it was referred to the Committee on Territories, and that they referred it back to the Senate, and it passed into a law. It seems, therefore, that the practice to which the Senator referred existed under the old rule, in consequence of there being no Territorial Committee, and that the last precedent in the Senate was in favor of this new reference.

Mr. Johnson, of Georgia, was of opinion that the decision to which the Senator from Illinois referred, was made with reference to a bill organizing a *Territorial* Government, and not for the admission of a new *State*. He considered it very proper to refer the present bill to the Judiciary Committee, because of the nature of the peculiar questions which must arise, with reference to the extent of the powers to be conferred upon the new State, and which more appropriately belong to a Committee organized for the purpose of taking into consideration judicial questions.

Mr. Butler could not tell how it occurred that the bill for the admission of Wisconsin was referred to the Committee on Territories, unless it was connected with the other bill organizing the Territorial Government of Minesota, out of a portion of the Territory of Wisconsin. He could not, however, see any reason at the present time for deviating from what appeared to be the usual course with reference to bills for the admission of new States. He knew of no bill that presented so many difficult Constitutional questions as the one now before the Senate, which proposed to give to California certain powers, as a sovereign State, reserving to Congress the right hereafter to erect a portion of the same Territory into new States—taking away the powers which had been originally invested in the State. If that could be done, his opinion was against the supposition, although he could not say what his decision would be upon the matter; but, if a bill assuming that that could be done was coming before the Senate, then, upon the presumption that the Judiciary Committee had been selected because of their supposed legal acumen and skill, it seemed to him that precedent, usage, and reason, were all in favor of the reference of such a bill to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Yulee made some remarks tending to show that the Committee on Territories in the Senate was organized in consequence of a memorial transmitted to the Senate by the Delegates in Congress from the several Territories of the United States, and with a view, simply, to facilitating the business of the Territories. Subsequently the question arose in the Senate, as to the proper reference of a bill for the admission of a new State, and it was decided, by yeas and nays, in favor of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. King did not conceive the particular reference of this bill a matter of primary importance. He would merely state, that, during five-and-twenty years' service in that body, he had never known a single instance where a bill for the organization of a State Government had not been referred to the Judiciary Committee. Why was it, that this struggle was going on in regard to the reference of this bill, when it was known that such bills had been uniformly referred to the Judiciary Committee, with the exception of the isolated case referred to by the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. Douglas. I will merely remark to the Senator from Alabama, that, if he had looked at the Journal, he would have found the reason why, in the course of his twenty-five years in the Senate, a bill of this kind has not been referred to the Territorial Committee; and that reason is simply that there never has been a Territorial Committee until recently. That explains why such bills have never been referred to such a committee—there being none. And the reason why such a reference has been ordered since, is, that there *has* been such a committee.

Mr. Bright. As at present advised, I am opposed to any legislation looking to the organization of Territorial Governments in either California or New Mexico during this Congress. Nevertheless, I will lend my aid in giving every proposition, having this object in view, a proper and legitimate direction. The Senator from Georgia moves the reference of the bill offered by the Senator from Illinois to the Committee on the Judiciary. This I regard as a departure from the precedents established by this body, under similar circumstances, upon like propositions. If the Senator from Illinois had proposed by his bill to organize a Territorial Government in California, instead of admitting California *directly* as a State, I apprehend no Senator would have objected to a reference to the Committee on Territories. All would have acquiesced in this disposition of the subject. But because the bill contemplates an abridged method of disposing of a question that has lately occupied so much of the public attention, therefore it is said the Committee on the Judiciary is the proper one to investigate and report upon the measure. Is there a gentleman upon this floor who believes that any bill or proposition, having for its object the organization of any of the Territories of these United States, can be passed upon by Congress without an issue made, *directly*, as to whether slavery shall not be *absolutely* excluded? He who comes to this conclusion must have been an inattentive observer of what passed in this Chamber at its last session. This geographical question arose then. It will arise again, and with increased strength. To send this bill to the Committee on the Judiciary is a useless waste of time, as far as their reasoning and recommendation are concerned. I accord to the members of that Committee as large a share of legal talent as belongs to the same number of gentlemen in or out of this Chamber; *but when I recollect that four out of the five members of that Committee are from the slaveholding States of this Union,* I am not mistaken in saying they cannot present a bill that will receive the sanction of this Congress.

The Committee on Territories is free from this geographical objection. I think, therefore, it would be in conformity with past usage, and more appropriate, to refer it to the former, and shall vote accordingly.

I have said, Mr. President, that I was opposed to the organization of all Territories during the present session of Congress. I am still—believing as I do that there is no great public necessity existing for haste in this matter; and, further, I always bow with deference and submission to the will of the majority. If the American People decided *anything* in the late National election, it was a reference of this question of Territorial acquisitions and organizations to the "incoming administration." It was in November last bequeathed to them, as a rich political legacy, pregnant with capital, marketable in every section of this Union. For one, I think it would be in bad taste, and out of place, for this expiring administration to prevent the execution of the will in the manner pointed out by the testators, as would be the case were we to prejudge and settle the question this session.

Mr. Baldwin. It appears to me, sir, that the question now before the Senate is very different from any that has heretofore occurred with regard to the matter of reference. The question ordinarily presented, when a bill is introduced for the admission of a State, is one which influences the matter of detail, in regard to that of which the policy is already determined. The question of policy here presented is, whether this Territory, comprised within the limits of our country by the treaty with Mexico, shall be organized into one or more Territorial Governments, or whether it shall be organized into a State Government. This bill includes California and New Mexico, and proposes to establish a State Government over the whole. The people of one portion of the Territory have already applied to Congress to be organized into a Territorial Government. Another portion have asked for a State Government. But the Territory of New Mexico has already transmitted to Congress a petition, which has been presented to the Senate, and, if I mistake not, referred; at all events, the matter is now before the Senate, whether they shall have a Territorial Government or not. Now, sir, this question of policy appears to me proper for the Territorial Committee to consider and report upon. It does not involve matter which requires peculiarly the action of a Committee constituted for the purpose for which the Judiciary Committee is constituted. I think, therefore, sir, that aside from any of the precedents which have been cited by those who are favor of a reference to the Judiciary or to the Territorial Committee—standing upon the mere merits of the question—it is an isolated case, distinct from all the others. It is peculiarly appropriate that it should be referred, as a matter of policy, to that Committee which is conversant with matters of this sort, and was established to consider them, rather than legal questions, arising from a settled policy.

Mr. Rusk was in favor of a reference of the bill to the Committee on the Judiciary. He also took the present opportunity of making some remarks, tending to throw doubt upon the genuineness of the memorial presented a day or two since, from a Convention at Santa Fe, praying that slavery may be excluded from California.

Mr. Berrien submitted some additional remarks in relation to the precedents for the reference of the class of bills in question. He also denied, [in reply to Mr. Douglas,] that the Judiciary Committee deliberately sanctioned the proposition to violate the Ordinance of 1787, by taking a portion of the Territory of Wisconsin, to make the new State of Minesota, as proposed. The Committee simply reported that bill back without amendment, and without knowing that any such provision existed in the bill.

Mr. Butler said, that when the bill alluded to by the Senator from Georgia was before the Judiciary Committee, he (Mr. B.) said to them, "Gentlemen, I stand alone upon the subject of this proposition. I am from a part of the country that has observed, so far as I know, all the obligations that have been imposed upon it. I solemnly object to this bill; and I ask you to comply with the Ordinance of 1787." But standing alone upon the Committee, the bill was reported to the Senate, and it was passed, in his absence, into a law, or they would then have heard his voice upon the subject. But when the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Bright] said that the Committee on the Judiciary was constituted so that all but one of its members were from the South, he would do him the justice to say that he insisted upon placing on that Committee a gentleman from the North who is entirely opposed to him (Mr. B.) in many of his views; and he did this because he was a good lawyer. There had been no design in organizing the Committee.

Mr. Niles considered the present a Territorial bill to all intents and purposes, and he would vote for its reference to the Territorial Committee, and would be well satisfied if it was allowed to sleep there during the entire session—to be taken up and decided upon by the incoming administration.

The question being then taken by yeas and nays, the result was as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Atherton, Baldwin, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Cameron, Clarke, Clayton, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dix, Dodge, Douglas, Felch, Fitzgerald, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Niles, Sturgeon, Upham, and Walker—24.

Nays—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Downs, Fitzpatrick, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, King, Metcalf, Pearce, Rusk, Turney, Underwood, Westcott, and Yulee—25.

So the motion was not agreed to.

The bill was then referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Resolutions referring the different portions of the President's annual message to the appropriate Committees, were adopted.

RAILROAD ACROSS THE ISTHMUS.

The bill proposing to give certain aid in the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama, was then taken up, and after debate by Messrs. Benton, Breese, Allen, Clarke, Hale, Johnson of Maryland, and Dix, without taking any vote upon the bill,

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Vinton, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill making appropriations for deficiencies in appropriations for the year ending June 30, 1849, which was made the order of the day for Wednesday week.

The business in order was commenced, viz: the reconsideration of the vote by which the House passed a resolution instructing the Committee on Territories to report a bill to establish Territorial Governments for New Mexico and California, excluding slavery therefrom.

Mr. Robinson, of Indiana, who made this motion, and who was entitled to the floor, explained his views. He alluded to the conflicting arguments of Southern and Northern politicians as to General Taylor's principles on the subject of slavery—argued that, on the eve of a dying Administration, it was unfair to thrust upon the Democrats the necessity of legislating upon the question—asserted the doctrine of the Nicholson letter, non-intervention—and thought that General Taylor's friends and the representatives elected to the next Congress ought to have the adjustment of the question. When he concluded,

Mr. Wentworth moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table; and on the yeas and nays being taken, the motion was agreed to—yeas 106, nays 82.

Mr. Giddings, in accordance with previous notice, introduced a bill to authorize the people of the District of Columbia to express their desire as to the continuance of slavery therein.

In reply to a question from Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, Mr. Giddings said that he had been asked to introduce such a bill; and in reply to another from Mr. Tompkins, he replied that he meant to give all males, white and black, in the District, an opportunity to vote, at the poll to be opened, either for "slavery" or "freedom."

Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, moved to lay the bill on the table; and this motion prevailed—yeas 105, nays 77.

Mr. Wentworth offered a resolution contemplating a repeal of all laws authorizing the existence of slavery under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, so as to remove the agitation on the subject. A Southern member near him moved to lay the resolution on the table, and asked the yeas and nays. The Speaker, however, did not hear this motion; and objection being made to the reception of the resolution, he decided that it must lie over.

Various other resolutions were offered, and at an early hour the House adjourned.

Tuesday, December 19, 1848.

SENATE.

Several resolutions, which were laid over from last session, were taken up and disposed of.

Mr. Benton presented a Spanish copy of a contract formerly made by the Brazilian Government with a French company, relating to a right of way across the Isthmus of Panama, for the construction of a canal or railroad, which contract had been transferred by said Government to Messrs. Aspinwall & Co., of New York. Upon a motion to have this document translated and printed, an irregular debate occurred, relative to the propriety of giving the guarantee of certain support from the United States Government to the company whose proposition to construct a railroad across the Isthmus is now before the Senate.

After transacting some further business, of no general interest,

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House was occupied to-day, during its entire sitting, with the subject of the reference of the President's Message to the appropriate committees—the time being chiefly consumed in a discussion of the tariff.

SUPREME COURT.

Monday, December 11, 1848.—Present as on Friday, and Mr. Chief Justice Taney.

Cornelius Van Santvoord, Esq., of New York, George S. Selden, Esq., of Pennsylvania, and David S. Stacy, Esq., of Louisiana, were admitted attorneys and counsellors of this Court.

No. 3½. United States, plaintiff in error, *vs.* King & Coxe. Argument commenced by Mr. Attorney General for the plaintiff in error, and continued by Mr. Coxe for the defendants in error.

Adjourned.

December 12.—No. 3½. The United States, plaintiff in error, *vs.* King & Coxe. Argument continued by Mr. Gilpin for the defendants in error.

Adjourned.

December 13.—W. O. Kline, Esq., of Pennsylvania, admitted an attorney and counsellor of this Court.

No. 3½. The United States, plaintiff in error, *vs.* King & Coxe. Argument concluded by Mr. Attorney General for the plaintiff in error.

No. 16. Isaac Roach, Treasurer of the Mint of the United States, plaintiff in error, *vs.* the County of Philadelphia. Argument commenced by Mr. Gillet for the plaintiff in error, and continued by Mr. Brewster for the defendant in error.

Adjourned.

December 14.—Charles Ingersoll, Esq., of Boston, admitted an attorney and counsellor of this Court.

No. 16. Isaac Roach, Treasurer of the Mint of the United States, plaintiff in error, *vs.* the County of Philadelphia. Argument continued by Mr. Brewster for the defendant in error, and concluded by Mr. Attorney General for the plaintiff in error.

No. 17. B. McLaughlin, appellant, *vs.* the Bank of Potomac et al. Argument commenced by Mr. F. L. Smith for the appellant.

Adjourned.

December 15.—J. Mason Campbell, Esq., of Maryland, admitted an attorney and counsellor of this Court.

No. 17. B. McLaughlin, appellant, *vs.* the Bank of Potomac et al. Argument continued by Mr. F. L. Smith for the appellant, and by Mr. Davis for the appellees.

Adjourned till Monday morning, 11 o'clock.

Correspondence of the Philadelphia Republic.

Harrisburg, *Dec.* 15, 1848.

Dr. Elder: The State Convention of colored citizens adjourned last evening, after one of the most interesting sessions ever held in behalf of human freedom. In consequence of the lateness of the hour at which they adjourned, I could not obtain the minutes of their proceedings. I was therefore compelled to leave you in expectation until this mail, nor shall I intrude much on your columns or space, except with the resolutions, the Convention having passed a resolution to publish their proceedings, with debates entire, in your valuable paper. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That the legitimate object of this Convention is to petition the Legislature for a repeal of the word "white" from the third article of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the people of Pennsylvania, by sanctioning the disfranchisement of her colored citizens, have violated the creed of their republican faith, and brought dishonor on their principles, and degradation, privation, and wrong, on those whom they have victimized.

Resolved, That the successful prosecution of a cause depends much on the form and manner of our advocacy, the character and wisdom of our measures, the zeal and energy of individual action, and demands that we issue an address to the voters of Pennsylvania—also an address to the colored citizens, requesting them to make their rule of conduct such as shall successfully vindicate our right to the enjoyment of citizenship.

Resolved, That each delegation circulate petitions as soon as practicable in the different counties, to obtain signers among the citizens, to be presented to the Legislature of this State, praying for erasing the word "white" from the Constitution.

Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed to prepare an address to the voters of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in behalf of universal suffrage.

The whole proceedings of the Convention have been characterized by that decorum of conduct which has gained to the parties immediately interested, and the cause they espouse, many friends.

Yours, truly, Susquehanna.

Columbus, *Dec.* 16, 1848.

The Revolution in Ohio—Townsend's Proposition refused by the Whigs.—The Whigs had quite a busy and animated time of it to-day, in discussing Mr. Townsend's proposition. It was finally rejected.

The select committee of five, appointed some days ago, to inquire into the causes which led to the disorganization, are to make their report on Monday morning.

The Whigs still continue to meet, call the roll, and adjourn. They occupy the Hall on the left of the Speaker's chair. The Democrats hold possession on the right. They continue in their seats night and day, without adjournment. Some of them look haggard and worn out.

A number of the Cass and Butler electors are yet in town. Several distinguished men from Cincinnati are also here.

At present neither party is inclined to yield, and the organization of the House is as far off as ever.

New York, *Dec.* 17.

Cholera in New York.—Four new cases of cholera have occurred at the quarantine in the last twenty-four hours. There has been but one death. There are now twenty cases under treatment. No case has yet occurred in the city.

Charleston, *Dec.* 16.

The Hon. A. P. Butler has been reëlected to the United States Senate from South Carolina, by the Legislature of that State, for six years from the 4th of March next.

Progress of the Proviso.—The Locofocos of the Illinois Legislature give tokens of electing a Senator to the United States Senate, who is in favor of Free Soil. They repudiate their present doughfaces, Breese and Douglas.

The Washington Union learns from the State Department, that James Bergen and Richard F. Ryan, who were imprisoned in Ireland during the disturbances in that country, by order of the British Government, have been liberated.

South Carolina.—The Legislature has elected W. B. Seabrook, Governor, and W. H. Gist, Lieutenant Governor of the State.

Settlement of the Postal Troubles.—Among the passengers in the steamship Canada was Mr. G. P. Putnam, who brings out the final settlement of the postal difficulties between Great Britain and the United States.

The rumor of negotiations having been entered upon relative to a purchase of Cuba by the United States is officially contradicted by the Madrid journals.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

Contents of No. 240.—Dec. 23, 1848.—Price, twelve and a half cents.

1. Music and the Modern Opera.—*Fraser's Magazine.*
2. Memoir of Captain Marryat.—*Bentley's Miscellany.*
3. Chateaubriand.—*Chambers's Journal.*
4. Gossip about Sharks.—*Ib.*
5. Fowling in Faroe and Shetland.—*Ib.*
6. The Marshal D'Ancre.—*Sharpe's Magazine.*
7. The Dark Lady.—*Mrs. S. C. Hall.*
8. Charles V.—*Bentley's Miscellany.*
9. Crotchet.—*Ib.*
10. University Reform Begun.—*Spectator.*
11. The Peace Congress.—*Ib.*

SHORT ARTICLES.

Ancient City of Bamean. Pedestrianism in the Brick Yard. Flannel next the Skin. Indian Salt Tax Revenged. Brougham's Defence. Wonders of Chemistry.

Washington, *December* 27, 1845.

Of all the periodical journals devoted to literature and science which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language; but this, by its immense extent and comprehension, includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the present age.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

OFFICIAL ELECTION RETURNS.

MAINE.

Counties.	1848. Taylor.	Cass.	V. B.	1844. Clay.	Polk.	Scatt'g.
Aroostook	436	868	91	398	907	21
Cumberland	4,796	5,989	1,744	4,483	6,367	695
Franklin	886	1,431	810	1,132	1,609	392
Hancock	2,102	2,317	248	1,849	2,608	105
Kennebec*	5,056	2,629	1,656	5,393	3,535	561
Lincoln	5,276	4,711	965	4,566	3,554	[illegible]
Oxford	1,534	3,601	1,201	1,887	4,395	397
Penobscot	3,971	4,635	1,520	3,366	4,895	695
Piscataquis	937	1,166	433	1,074	1,138	228
Somerset	2,460	2,102	1,036	2,849	2,530	435
Waldo	1,817	3,547	1,110	1,826	4,661	316
Washington	2,500	2,464	450	2,329	2,605	77
York	3,501	4,661	843	3,210	5,117	453

1848.

Total vote for Taylor	35,279
Total vote for Cass	40,138
Total vote for Van Buren	12,124

1844.

Total vote for Clay	34,619
Total vote for Polk	45,694
Scattering	4,862

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Counties.	1848. Taylor.	Cass.	V. B.	1844. Clay.	Polk.	Birney.
Rockingham	3,972	2,710	982	2,830	4,007	584
Strafford	1,912	1,664	495	1,702	1,808	330
Belknap	1,769	610	334	884	1,701	248
Carroll	1,865	539	625	732	1,916	233
Merrimack	4,218	1,245	1,076	1,589	3,821	628
Hillsborough	4,773	2,799	1,257	3,124	4,583	675
Cheshire	2,076	1,881	945	2,558	2,070	374
Sullivan	1,866	1,176	523	1,553	1,944	330
Grafton	4,060	1,927	1,104	2,566	4,016	631
Coos	1,282	230	219	349	1,361	108

1848.

Total vote for Taylor	27,763
Total vote for Cass	14,781
Total vote for Van Buren	7,560
Scattering	1,112

1844.

Total vote for Clay	17,866
Total vote for Polk	27,160
Total vote for Birney	4,161

NEW YORK.

Counties.	1848. Taylor.	V. B.	Cass.	1844. Clay.	Polk.	Birney.
Albany	7,068	2,407	4,002	7,109	6,916	124
Allegany	2,789	2,040	1,283	3,913	3,640	435
Broome	2,490	777	1,959	2,661	2,508	106
Cattaraugus	2,604	1,236	1,677	2,743	2,634	487
Cayuga	4,318	3,979	1,034	4,908	5,202	376
Chautauque	4,207	1,628	1,911	5,612	3,407	314
Chemung	1,943	2,166	728	1,791	2,592	106
Chenango	3,587	1,481	2,616	4,215	4,495	243
Columbia	3,943	2,100	2,121	4,322	4,691	11
Cortland	1,879	1,803	946	2,378	2,358	543
Clinton	1,941	1,221	1,472	1,119	2,218	410
Delaware	2,832	2,908	790	3,071	4,230	205
Dutchess	5,376	1,295	3,227	5,767	5,627	37
Erie	7,647	2,357	3,364	6,965	5,050	415
Essex	2,629	1,119	1,002	2,612	1,998	143
Franklin	1,353	911	974	1,524	1,501	93
Fulton and Ham.	1,976	1,602	380	2,107	3,192	100
Genesee	2,890	1,111	1,180	3,604	2,105	298
Greene	2,707	1,425	1,551	2,968	3,468	30
Herkimer	2,430	3,893	699	2,868	4,346	608
Jefferson	4,841	4,342	2,445	5,576	6,291	712
King's	7,511	817	4,882	5,107	4,648	77
Lewis	1,223	1,258	789	1,640	2,073	154
Livingston	3,730	2,100	889	3,773	2,709	210
Madison	2,898	2,739	1,565	3,683	3,848	1,311
Monroe	6,539	4,671	1,443	6,873	5,611	430
Montgomery	2,924	1,602	1,285	2,849	3,278	85
New York	29,070	5,106	18,973	26,385	28,296	117
Niagara	2,828	2,080	1,313	3,100	2,589	310
Oneida	6,032	4,816	3,585	6,963	7,717	1,144
Onondaga	5,442	4,942	2,229	6,495	6,878	732
Ontario	3,848	2,627	1,272	4,568	3,659	435
Orange	4,172	1,434	3,170	4,626	5,303	37
Orleans	2,402	1,722	918	2,609	2,311	276
Oswego	3,655	4,254	1,134	3,771	4,382	851
Otsego	3,929	1,941	3,674	4,743	6,050	413
Putnam	816	415	996	979	1,731	—
Queen's	2,444	800	1,310	2,547	2,751	—
Rensselaer	6,241	2,930	2,685	6,360	5,618	181
Richmond	1,099	123	860	1,049	1,063	1
Rockland	918	255	1,064	794	1,679	1
Saratoga	4,438	1,405	2,515	4,550	4,200	119
Schenectady	1,716	444	1,068	1,814	1,679	31
Schoharie	2,724	654	2,671	2,986	3,523	111
Seneca	1,767	1,523	1,360	2,327	2,569	124
St. Lawrence	3,367	6,023	613	4,972	6,008	468
Steuben	4,357	3,623	2,975	4,385	5,512	243
Suffolk	2,180	1,400	1,051	2,487	3,375	14
Sullivan	1,672	534	1,363	1,739	1,964	30
Tioga	1,782	789	1,683	1,999	2,548	90
Tompkins	3,003	2,648	2,270	3,845	4,013	322
Ulster	4,6[illegible]9	2,277	1,970	4,804	4,783	12
Washington	4,486	2,024	1,2[illegible]5	5,024	3,270	338
Warren	1,270	618	1,019	1,330	1,791	118
Wayne	3,567	3,690	797	3,953	4,046	563
Westchester	4,112	1,3[illegible]2	2,146	4,258	4,412	19
Wyoming	2,381	1,639	1,337	2,754	2,102	441
Yates	1,651	1,483	862	2,056	2,110	207

Total vote for Taylor	218,603
Total vote for Van Buren	120,510
Total vote for Cass	114,318
Total vote for Clay	232,482
Total vote for Polk	237,588
Total vote for Birney	15,812
Taylor's majority over Cass	104,285
Taylor's majority over Van Buren	98,093
Van Buren's majority over Cass	6,192
Cass and Van Buren over Taylor	16,225
Polk over Clay in 1844	5,106
The Gerrit Smith ticket received	2,345
Total vote in 1844 was	485,882
Total vote now	455,976
Less than the vote of 1844	29,906
Taylor's vote less than Clay's	13,879
Cass, Van Buren, and Smith, less than Polk	215

We are indebted to the *Albany Evening Journal* for the above returns.

OHIO.

Counties.	1848. Taylor.	V B.	Cass.	1844. Clay.	Polk.	Birney.
Adams	1,259	196	1,689	1,252	1,611	87
Allen	728	2	1,070	779	1,062	9
Ashtabula	1,124	2,467	878	3,383	1,123	237
Athens	1,846	3[illegible]0	1,509	2,050	1,425	240
Ashland	1,341	275	2,519	(new county.)		
Anglaize	457	14	1,038	(new county.)		
Belmont	2,723	543	2,892	3,140	2,821	184
Brown	1,771	403	2,557	1,798	2,342	130
Butler	1,959	381	3,536	2,158	3,546	61
Carroll	1,453	345	1,395	1,701	1,589	140
Champaign	1,878	330	1,508	2,069	1,405	32
Clark	2,506	208	1,375	2,477	1,157	43
Clermont	2,204	404	2,883	2,189	2,627	105
Clinton	1,233	735	1,122	1,736	1,133	172
Columbiana	1,850	865	2,732	3,416	3,741	217
Coshocton	1,814	137	2,422	1,885	2,284	60
Crawford	952	90	1,678	1,197	1,738	8
Cuyahoga	1,776	2,594	2,368	3,331	2,389	312
Darke	1,508	81	1,554	1,408	1,407	25
Delaware	1,866	268	1,574	2,548	2,017	118
Defiance	384	23	567	(new county.)		
Erie	1,499	681	999	1,458	1,261	65
Fairfield	2,438	42	3,515	2,542	3,637	15
Fayette	1,157	128	946	1,229	878	67
Franklin	3,199	284	3,029	2,965	2,498	72
Gallia	1,630	95	1,081	1,484	957	31
Geauga	872	1,373	922	2,274	1,101	233
Greene	2,035	644	1,256	2,422	1,380	126
Guernsey	2,375	489	2,504	2,746	2,628	218
Hamilton	9,018	1,986	10,835	7,201	8,983	298
Hancock	1,016	22	1,501	907	1,247	2
Hardin	596	51	605	510	495	6
Harrison	1,564	543	1,658	2,039	1,750	195
Henry	217	17	297	229	245	—
Highland	2,114	344	2,224	2,142	2,164	114
Hocking	856	23	1,319	719	1,289	2
Holmes	1,118	45	2,224	1,142	2,317	5
Huron	1,850	876	1,769	2,564	2,136	138
Jackson	987	60	1,108	908	1,046	13
Jefferson	2,148	455	2,231	2,3[illegible]5	2,354	85
Knox	1,910	539	2,890	2,746	3,324	134
Lake	777	994	715	1,818	901	109
Lawrence	1,164	53	745	1,140	658	3
Licking	3,030	561	3,468	3,500	3,840	234
Logan	1,652	275	1,137	1,625	1,015	93
Lorain	647	1,616	1,473	1,956	1,793	473
Lucas	1,298	327	1,197	1,167	881	12
Madison	1,329	80	712	1,269	643	8
Marion	1,004	55	1,193	1,425	[illegible]	88
Medina	1,140	1,098	1,836	2,045	1,920	221
Meigs	1,327	305	1,014	1,341	880	41
Mercer	360	16	641	423	812	4
Miami	2,542	272	1,822	2,572	1,657	113
Monroe	909	330	2,574	1,210	2,548	114
Montgomery	2,561	304	3,330	3,388	3,101	83
Morgan	2,320	314	2,448	2,107	2,024	64
Muskingum	4,428	228	3,380	4,489	3,196	86
Morrow	1,166	407	1,884	(new county.)		
Mahoning	720	1,042	1,953	(new county.)		
Ottawa	190	45	231	241	233	9
Perry	1,488	19	2,192	1,527	2,273	3
Paulding	70	—	1[illegible]8	63	192	—
Pickaway	2,115	24	1,960	2,719	2,012	10
Pike	843	33	909	800	836	16
Portage	1,270	1,127	2,149	2,510	2,247	244
Preble	3,106	314	1,519	2,262	1,528	70
Putnam	202	3	634	451	697	2
Richland	2,088	187	3,177	3,443	5,574	111
Ross	3,394	174	2,306	3,321	2,380	90
Sandusky	928	125	1,148	997	1,214	12
Scioto	1,838	13	1,268	1,519	1,695	—
Seneca	1,536	383	2,3[illegible]6	1,727	2,316	41
Shelby	1,021	49	1,129	1,020	1,014	26
Stark	2,882	570	3,495	2,952	3,575	76
Summit	1,892	1,058	1,815	2,841	2,066	184
Trumbull	1,364	2,0[illegible]5	1,951	3,837	3,544	738
Tuscarawas	2,662	164	2,553	2,696	2,358	35
Union	1,030	173	797	1,009	710	32
Van Wert	223	—	381	158	270	—
Warren	2,526	402	1,861	2,8[illegible]2	1,791	85
Washington	2,079	462	1,930	2,194	1,686	151
Wayne	2,284	190	3,380	2,759	3,765	75
Williams	3[illegible]8	154	510	553	673	—
Wood	647	29	636	576	570	1
Wyandotte	951	46	1,059	(new county.)		

Total vote for Taylor	138,396
Total vote for Van Buren	35,456
Total vote for Cass	154,862
Total vote for Clay	155,113
Total vote for Polk	149,061
Total vote for Birney	8,050
Cass over Taylor	16,466
Taylor and Van Buren over Cass	18,990
Clay over Polk	6,052

The above table does not include the vote of Pennington township, Licking county, from which no returns were received. We have not yet seen any return of the vote for the Gerrit Smith ticket. It is undoubtedly very light.

NEGRO RISING.

An event has just occurred in Arkansas, on one of the large plantations of that State, which irresistibly reminds us of the upheavings and popular struggles for freedom, in the petty principalities on the European continent. Col. William Polk, the owner of the plantation, and of its laborers, recently died. Very soon after this event, his slaves, amounting, it is said, to some three hundred, rose in open rebellion, helped themselves to what food and clothing they desired, and asserted their freedom. Such, at least, is the substance of information communicated to the editor of the Memphis Appeal, by a gentleman from Walnut Bend, the scene of the disturbance. And there seems nothing unreasonable in the account. It is just what happens in the petty sovereignties of Europe every little while, on the death of the sovereign or master, and only what is happening just now in many of them without such death. The Appeal says, on the authority named, that "some efforts were made by the few white persons about the premises to restrain them, but these were of no avail. The negroes allege that their late master promised them if they served him faithfully during his lifetime, they should be free at his death, and express a determination to free themselves. This is a sparsely settled neighborhood, there not being a sufficient number of whites within many miles to put them down."

FREE DEMOCRACY OF NEW YORK.

At a meeting of the Democratic Republican Corresponding Committee, held at their Headquarters, December 1, 1848, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and directed to be published in the Democratic papers in the city:

Resolved, That we deem this an appropriate occasion to renew our expression of devotion to the great principles of Democratic freedom, to equality of taxation and representation, retrenchment of Government expenditures and patronage, frequent recurrence by elections to the sources of power, and by discussion to the true principles of Government, reform, and simplification of the Government itself, and a faithful adherence to the party usages of those professing and seeking to enforce a common faith.

Resolved, That the progress of our Republic in the science of government, and in the promotion of individual happiness, with a single exception, may well challenge the admiration of the World—that exception is the relation of human slavery—a moral, social, and political curse, inflicted upon our infant colonies by the avarice and oppression of Great Britain, continued by several of our sister States and partially by the General Government, when Great Britain herself, as well as France, Denmark, and even despotic Turkey, has escaped from its infliction.

Resolved, That we look forward with hope to the eventual extirpation of slavery from our borders, and that we see no present plan of accomplishing this great duty of civilization and humanity more just and feasible than that formed by the fathers of our Republic at its foundation, to wit: the prohibition of slave importation from abroad, the exclusion of slavery from all the Territories of the United States, and the surrender of the whole power over the subject in existing States to the people of those States, respectively. If this plan had been faithfully executed by those who followed the great men of the Revolution, we should now have had but six slaveholding States, and no slaveholding Territory.

Resolved, That great as are the obligations of the Democratic party to Thomas Jefferson for his instinctive and unswerving devotion to liberal principles of government, it is as the author of the policy to limit, meliorate, and eventually abolish human slavery, that he most singularly contrasts with the modern slaveholders and statesmen of the South, and most warmly commends himself to the gratitude and veneration of a free people.

Resolved, That the exclusion of slavery from the Territories of the United States, by positive Congressional enactments, as proposed by Mr. Jefferson in 1784, and effected in 1787, has been adhered to without interruption until the last session of Congress—it has been attended with vast advantages to the entire Confederacy—ought not to be abandoned, and cannot be compromised.

Resolved, That a locality where slavery is upheld by the laws of the United States ought no longer to be the seat of Government of a free people; and the National Capital should therefore be removed from Washington, unless slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That the free Democracy of the United States, in the defeat of the slavery compromise proposed at the last session of Congress, and the passage of the bill for Oregon, containing an express and positive prohibition of involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime; in the great number of votes cast for their candidates, at the late Presidential election, under circumstances of extraordinary discouragement; and in the sound and irresistible public sentiment which has been aroused in all quarters of the Union, have abundant cause for mutual congratulation and encouragement.

Resolved, That the most important moral to be drawn from the late political canvass which has elevated a successful and gallant soldier to the office of President of the United States, by a plurality of votes, in disregard of political principle and in defiance of party organization or personal claims, is, that an overwhelming majority of the electors of the United States were determined to deny to apostacy from freedom the reward of the Presidency.

Resolved, That the Democracy of New York have uniformly, for twenty years past, assembled in State Convention under a call from a joint caucus of the Democratic members of the Legislature, and this ancient usage never has been changed by them. Conventions thus assembled elected their delegates to the late Baltimore Convention, as well as the ticket for electors and State officers, supported by the Free Democracy at the past election. Any other organization, by whatever name it may be termed and under whatever pretences it may act, can receive no countenance from us.

Resolved, That recent events have admonished us of the disasters that attended a departure from the principles of the true Democracy, and we feel called upon to declare now, as heretofore, our fixed and unalterable purpose to support no candidate for any political office who does not conform to our faith and our organization.

B. F. BUTLER, *Chairman*.

JAMES PATTISON, GEORGE H. PURSER, } *Secretaries*.

From the Boston Daily Republican.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The State Central Committee congratulate the friends of Free Soil in the Commonwealth, upon the satisfactory results of the recent elections. Within ninety days from the assembling of the Buffalo Convention, a party of three hundred thousand voters has been organized, extending into twenty States, and including some of the ablest and most experienced statesmen of the country. Not one Presidential elector has been chosen; yet the immediate results of the movement are eminently gratifying.

A *National party* has been formed, which will energetically sustain the cause of freedom.

A large proportion of the *young men* of the Union have been enlisted in its behalf.

The sturdy yeomanry of the *free Northwest* have been thoroughly aroused.

The *balance of power* has been secured in eleven of the free States.

In the States of New York, Massachusetts, and Vermont, the Free Democracy have become the *second* party in numerical power, and bid fair soon to control their internal political action.

Northern politicians have been compelled to respect the free spirit of the age; and the newly elected Northern Representatives have generally pledged themselves to fidelity to the free principle.

The bond of union between the Slave power and the Northern Democracy has been sundered forever.

Joshua R. Giddings, Joseph M. Root, John Crowell, and Lewis D. Campbell of Ohio, William Sprague of Michigan, Charles Durkee of Wisconsin, David Wilmot and John W. Howe of Pennsylvania, Preston King of New York, and Horace Mann of Massachusetts, have been elected to the next House of Representatives, and it is hoped that to this list will soon be added the names of John G. Palfrey, Charles Allen, and Nathaniel Morton.

In this Commonwealth, notwithstanding an opposition of peculiar bitterness, nearly *forty thousand* voters supported the Presidential candidates, and nearly the same number again appeared at the State election, although opposed by both the old parties.

Other results not immediately discernible, if considered in connection with the great movement commenced at Buffalo, are eminently gratifying and encouraging.

In the State of New York, nearly *seventy-five thousand* voters refused to vote, and it may reasonably be presumed that these absentees, although not yet committed to the Free Democracy, had become so entirely dissatisfied with the old organizations, that they must eventually join the new party of progress and freedom.

It is notorious that thousands, who approve the Buffalo platform, unwillingly supported General Taylor, without any faith in their organization or their candidate, in the hope of defeating General Cass. It is more notorious that thousands of honest Democrats, released by this election from their old party allegiance, and especially from the tyrannical domination of the Slave Power, naturally and cheerfully acquiesce in the progress of the new party, whose fundamental principle is dear to real Democrats, from its connection with the name of Thomas Jefferson, and all whose objects are in harmony with the loftiest sentiments of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

As a necessary consequence of this affinity of the free and enthusiastic members of the late Whig and Democratic parties for the Buffalo platform, the Hunkers of each organization are joining the party now temporarily victorious, under the unmeaning banner of "*Taylor Republicanism*," without asserting a single principle or advocating a single measure of public policy.

But amid so many signs of progress, new signs of danger have appeared, requiring immediate attention and constant vigilance. The strictest silence is now observed by the leading Taylor newspapers and politicians upon the question of slavery extension. But the danger is now most imminent. The President of the United States, false to his high position at the head of a free Republic, has vainly attempted, in his last annual Message, to re-organize a party which has been broken and demoralized by its subserviency to the Slave Power. Under the specious guise of preserving the Union, when its permanence is not endangered, by a skilful and glowing account of the importance of California and its mineral wealth, he implores Congress to evade the Wilmot Proviso, by one of three measures, either of which involves a compromise or abandonment of the principles for which we have so strenuously contended. In a similar spirit, a Senator from Illinois has already given notice of a bill to organize a State Government in the new Territory, and thus to preclude further agitation. And the "optimists" and "quietists" of this Commonwealth have already begun to hope that this measure may defeat the "Free Soil" movement.

Our principles we cannot compromise or abandon; nor should we lose any opportunity of bearing our testimony to them.

In illustration of the spirit with which we are opposed, we may refer to the significant fact that at the recent session of the Massachusetts Legislature, the "Taylor Republican" majority embraced the first opportunity to manifest a malignant hostility to the Free Soil movement, by selecting from the constitutional candidates for the vacancy in the Senate a Cass man, in preference to a Free Democrat—and this, too, when the only duty to be performed by the successful candidate was to vote for Presidential electors, and although the Free Democrat had received the larger vote at the popular election.

Adhere, then, to your own organization. Stand fast by the principles of the Buffalo platform; the overthrow of the domination of the Slave power—the exclusive right of free laborers to occupy and enjoy the free territory of the Union—the duty of the General Government to withdraw all countenance and support from the institution of Slavery—the freedom of the public lands to actual settlers—cheap postage—retrenchment of the public expenditure—the encouragement of internal commerce by the improvement of rivers and harbors—the election of officers by the people—a tariff for the payment of the public debt.

The State Committee recommend that, so far as may be, reading rooms and local newspapers should continue to be maintained; that public lectures should be delivered; that memorials and remonstrances should be presented to Congress; and that sympathy and coöperation should be freely solicited from all who supported the candidates of the old parties as a choice of evils, while they believed the nominations "not fit to be made."

Be firm and united! Our organization is independent and permanent.

Charles Sumner.	Alexander Dewitt.
Joshua Leavitt.	Amasa Walker.
John A. Andrew.	Charles White.
Marcus Morton, jun.	Allen Bangs.
Edward L. Keyles.	Wm. H. Stoddard.
Daniel W. Alvord.	H. G. Newcomb.
Anson Burlingame.	Lyman C. Thayer.
Sidney Homer.	Calvin Martin.
James M. Whiton.	George W. Sterling.
John B. Alley.	William Jackson.
S. H. Phillips.	William J. Reynolds.
Benj. F. Newhall.	Samuel Downer, jun.
Josiah G. Abbott.	Caleb Swan.
Shubael P. Adams.	Andrew L. Russell.
John G. Whittier.	Lewis Lapham.
E. Rockwood Hoar.	John A. Kasson.
John A. Shaw.	Edward W. Gardner.
George Minot.	

Boston, December 9, 1848.

From the National Intelligencer.

FURTHER OF THE GOLD MINES.

The Journal of Commerce having given to its readers the name of the author of the following letter, containing further information of the gold region of California, we need have no difficulty in stating that our letter on that subject in last Saturday's paper was from the same hand:

From the Journal of Commerce of December 9.

It may not be improper, under the circumstances, to say, that the very interesting letter annexed is from Rev. Walter Colton, Alcalde of Monterey. This is a sufficient voucher for the statements contained in it:

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA, *August* 29, 1848.

The gold discoveries still continue—every day brings some new deposite to light. It has been found in large quantities on the Sacramento, Feather river, Yerba river, the American Fork—north and south branches—the Cosamer, and in many dry ravines, and indeed on the tops of high hills. The extent of country on which it is ascertained to exist extends some two hundred miles north and south, and some sixty east and west; and these limits are every day enlarging by new discoveries. On the streams, where the gold has been subjected to the action of water and sand, it exists in fine grains; on the hills and among the clefts of the rocks it is found in rough, jagged pieces, of a quarter or half an ounce in weight, and sometimes two or three ounces.

At present the people are running over the country and picking it out of the earth here and there, just as a thousand hogs let loose in a forest would root up ground-nuts. Some get eight or ten ounces a day, and the least active one or two. They make the most who employ the wild Indians to hunt it for them. There is one man who has sixty Indians in his employ—his profits are a dollar a minute. The wild Indians know nothing of its value, and wonder what the pale faces want to do with it; they will give an ounce of it for the same weight of coined silver, or a thimblefull of glass beads, or a glass of grog. And white men themselves often give an ounce of it, which is worth, at our mint, eighteen dollars or more, for a bottle of brandy, a box of soda powders, or a plug of tobacco.

As to the quantity which the diggers get, take a few facts as evidence. I know seven men, who worked seven weeks and two days, Sundays excepted, on Feather river; they employed, on an average, fifty Indians, and got out, in these seven weeks and two days, two hundred and seventy-five pounds of pure gold. I know the men, and have seen the gold, and know what they state to be a fact; so stick a pin there. I know ten other men, who worked ten days in company, employed no Indians, and averaged in these ten days fifteen hundred dollars each; so stick another pin there. I know another man, who got out of a basin in a rock, not larger than a washbowl, two pounds and a half of gold in fifteen minutes; so stick another pin there! Not one of these statements would I believe, did I not know the men personally, and know them to be plain matter-of-fact men—men who open a vein of gold just as coolly as you would a potato hill.

The gold is obtained in a variety of ways; some wash it out of the sand with bowls, some with a machine made like a cradle, only longer and open at the foot, while at the other end, instead of a squalling infant, there is a grating, upon which the earth is thrown, and then water; both pass through the grating; the cradle is rocked, and, being on an inclined plane, the water carries off the earth, and the gold is deposited in the bottom of the cradle. So the two things most prized in this world, gold and infant beauty, are both rocked out of their primitive state, one to pamper pride, and the other to pamper the worm. Some forego cradles and bowls, as too tame an occupation, and, mounted on horses, half wild, dash up the mountain gorges, and over the steep hills, picking the gold from the clefts of the rocks with their bowie knives—a much better use to make of these instruments than picking the life out of men's bodies; for what is a man with that article picked out of him?

A larger party, well mounted, are following up the channel of the Sacramento, to discover where this gold, found in its banks, comes from, and imagine that near the river's fount they will find the great yellow mass itself. But they might as well hunt the fleeting rainbow. The gold was thrown up from the bed of the ocean with the rocks and sands in which it is found, and still bears, where it has escaped the action of the elements, vivid traces of volcanic fire. It often encases a crystal of quartz, in which the pebble lies as if it had slumbered there from eternity; its beautiful repose sets human artifice at defiance. How strange that this ore should have lain here, scattered about in all directions, peeping everywhere out of the earth, and sparkling in the sun, and been trod upon for ages by white men and savages, and by the emissaries of every scientific association in the world, and never till now have been discovered! What an ass man is, with all his learning! He stupidly stumbles over hills of gold to reach a rare pepper-pod, or rifle a bird's nest!

The whole country is now moving on the mines. Monterey, San Francisco, Sonoma, San Jose, and Santa Cruz, are emptied of their male population. A stranger coming here would suppose he had arrived among a race of women, who, by some anomalous provision of Nature, multiplied their images without the presence of the other sex. But not a few of the women have gone too, especially those who have got out of tea; for what is a woman without her teapot? A pythoness without her shaking tripod, an angel that has lost his lyre.

Every bowl, tray, warming-pan, and piggin, have gone to the mines; everything, in short, that has a scoop in it that will hold sand and water. All the iron has been worked up into crowbars, pickaxes, and spades. And all these roll back upon us in the shape of gold. We have therefore plenty of gold, but little to eat, and still less to wear. Our supplies must come from Oregon, Chili, and the United States. Our grain gold, in exchange for coin, sells for nine and ten dollars the ounce, though it is well known to be worth at the mint in Philadelphia eighteen dollars the ounce, at least. Such is the scarcity of coin here.

We want a mint. Let Congress send us one at once over the Isthmus; else this grain gold goes to Mazatlan, to Chili, and Peru, where it is lost to our national currency. Over a million of gold, at the lowest computation, is taken from these mines every month; and this quantity will be more than doubled when the emigration from the States, from Oregon, the Sandwich Islands, and the Southern Republics, arrives. Send us a mint. I could give you forty more illustrations of the extent and productiveness of these mines, but no one will believe what I *have* said without my name, and perhaps but few with it.

For the National Era.

LINES

ON READING WHITTIER'S "WISH OF TO DAY."

Deep within the soul the echo
Of that calm and solemn lay
Lingers like the "*Miserere*"
In some dim cathedral gray,
Into sweetest sadness melting,
With the parting smile of day.

On the hushed and tearful listeners
Hangs the silence as a pall,
While the breath of supplication
Rushes to the lips of all:
"Father let the hour yet linger;
Ere thy servant thou recall.

"Thrice ten thousand hearts responsive
Vibrate to the Northern Lyre,
Stirred to deeds of holy emprise
By its tones of living fire—
Tones that shall arouse the nations
To fulfil their long desire.

"While, thy meek air torn with discord,
Strife and hate our peace assail,
Still let the sweet Lyre of Freedom
Pour its notes on every gale,
Till with men, as with the angels,
Harmony and love prevail."

J. E. H.

Concord, N. H., December 10, 1848.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,

Voted by the National Assembly, in its sitting of the 4th of November, 1848.

PREAMBLE.

In the presence of God, and in the name of the French people, the National Assembly proclaims—

1. France has constituted herself a Republic. In adopting this form of government, her aim and object is to be able to advance more freely in the path of progress and civilization—to secure and augment the comfort of every one by a more equitable division of burdens, and a gradual diminution of public expenditure and taxes; and also to enable every citizen to attain, without further disturbances, a more elevated and increasing degree of morality, of enlightenment, and of personal comfort, by the successive and constant action of the institutions and laws.

2. The French Republic is Democratic, one and indivisible.

3. It recognises rights and duties anterior to and superior to all positive laws.

4. Its principles are, liberty, equality, fraternity. Its basis and foundation is, family, labor, property, and public order.

5. It respects the nationality of foreign people, as it is determined to make its own to be respected. It undertakes no wars for the purpose of conquest, and never employs its armies against the liberties of any people.

6. Reciprocal duties bind the citizens to the Republic and the Republic to the citizens.

7. Citizens must love their country, obey the Republic, and defend it at the cost of their lives; share in the burdens of the State according to their fortunes, provide for themselves by their labor the means of existence, and by their own forethought and care provide resources for the future. They must unite for the common good, and help each other in a brotherly manner, and aid to preserve the general order by obeying the moral and written laws which regulate society, both in families and individuals.

8. It is the duty of the Republic to protect the citizen in his person, his family, his religion, his property, and his labor, and to place that education which is necessary to every man within the reach of every one. It is also its duty, by brotherly assistance, to secure existence to the poor and necessitous, either by procuring employment for them, such as is within its power, and not beyond its resources, or by giving relief to those who are not able to work, and who have no family to help them.

In consideration of the performance of these duties, and for the guaranty of all these rights, the National Assembly, faithful to the traditions handed down from the great Assemblies which inaugurated the French Republic, decree as follows the Constitution of the Republic:

CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER 1.—*Of Sovereignty.*

Art. 1. The sovereignty resides in the totality of French citizens. It is inalienable and imprescriptible. No individual, no faction of the people, can take to themselves the exercise of this sovereignty.

CHAPTER 2.—*Rights of Citizens—Guarantees by the Constitution.*

Art. 2. No one can be arrested or detained prisoner, unless according to the prescription of the law.

Art. 3. The dwelling of every person inhabiting the French soil is inviolable, and cannot be entered, except according to the forms and in the cases provided by the law.

Art. 4. No one shall be removed from his natural judges—no commissions or extraordinary tribunals shall be created, under any pretext, or by any name.

Art. 5. The penalty of death for political offences is abolished.

Art. 6. Slavery cannot exist upon any territory belonging to France.

Art. 7. Every one may freely profess his own religion, and is to receive from the State equal protection in the exercise of his worship. The ministers of the different religions at present recognised by the law, or which may hereafter be recognised, have the right of receiving payment from the State.

Art. 8. Citizens have the right of meeting and assembling peaceably and unarmed, in order to petition or manifest their thoughts by means of the press or otherwise. The exercise of these rights is only limited by the rights or liberty of others, and by the interests of public safety. The press cannot in any circumstances be subjected to censorship.

Art. 9. Teaching is free. The liberty of teaching is to be exercised according to the terms, capacity, and morality, determined by law, and under the supervision and superintendence of the State. This superintendence is to be extended to all the establishments of education and instruction, without any exception whatever.

Art. 10. All citizens are equally admissible to all public employments, without other cause of preference than merit, and according to the conditions determined by law. All titles of nobility, all distinctions of birth, class, or *caste*, are abolished forever.

Art. 11. Property is inviolable; yet the State may demand the sacrifice of property for a public utility, legally established, and in consideration of a just and previous indemnity.

Art. 12. The confiscation of goods can never be reëstablished.

Art. 13. The Constitution guaranties to citizens the liberty of labor and industry. Society will favor and encourage the development of labor by gratuitous primary instruction; by professional education; by the equality of the connection between the employer and the journeyman; by the establishment of savings institutions, and those of credit; by agricultural institutions; by voluntary associations; and the establishment by the State, the Departments, and the Communes, of public works for the employment of idle hands. Society, also, will give aid to deserted children, to the sick, the aged, the destitute, and those whom their own families are not able to support.

Art. 14. The public debt is guarantied. Every contract and engagement made by the State is to be inviolate.

Art. 15. All taxes are for the common good. Every one is to contribute according to his means and fortune.

Art. 16. No tax can be made or levied except by force of law.

Art. 17. Direct taxation is only accorded for one year. Indirect taxes may be for several years.

CHAPTER 3.—*Of Public Duties.*

Art. 18. All public powers, whatever they may be, emanate from the people. They cannot be delegated by hereditary tradition.

Art. 19. The separation of powers is the first duty of a free Government.

CHAPTER 4.—*Of the Legislative Power.*

Art. 20. The French people delegate the legislative power to a single Assembly.

Art. 21 The whole number of representatives shall be 750, including those from Algeria and the French colonies.

Art. 22. This number shall be raised to the total of 900 for Assemblies called together to revise the Constitution.

Art. 23. Population shall be the basis for election.

Art. 24. Suffrage shall be direct and universal. The act of voting shall be secret.

Art. 25. All Frenchmen, aged 21, and in the enjoyment of their civil and political rights, are electors, without property conditions of any kind,

Art. 26. All electors are eligible to be elected, without property conditions, or reference to place of dwelling, who are 25 years of age, and in the enjoyment of their civil and political rights.

Art. 27. The electoral law will determine the causes which may deprive a French citizen of the right of electing or being elected. It will designate those citizens who, after having exercised official functions in a Department or Territory, will not be eligible in those places.

Art. 28. The exercise of any remunerating public function is incompatible with the trust of a representative of the people. No member of the Assembly can be nominated or raised to public offices, receiving salary, and the appointment to which proceeds from the Executive, during the continuance of the Legislature. Exceptions to the above dispositions are to be settled by the organic electoral law.

Art. 29. The terms of the above article are not applicable to Assemblies elected for the revision of the Constitution.

Art. 30. The elections for representatives shall be by Departments, and by ballot. The electors shall vote at the chief place of their district. But the district may be, for local causes, divided into several subdivisions, under forms and conditions to be determined by the electoral law.

Art. 31. The National Assembly is to be elected for the period of three years, to be then renewed entirely. Forty-five days, at least, before the end of the Legislature, a law shall be passed to fix the period of the new elections. If no law is passed within the prescribed time, the electors shall have full right to assemble and vote on the thirtieth day preceding the close of the Legislature. The new Assembly is convoked, and called to meet, by full right on the next day after the day on which the trust of the old Assembly expires.

Art. 32 The Assembly is permanent; yet it may adjourn to any time which it shall determine. During the continuance of any prorogation, a commission, composed of members of committees, and twenty-five representatives, named by the Assembly by ballot, and an absolute majority, will have the right to call together the Assembly in case of emergency. Also, the President of the Republic will have the right to convoke the Assembly. The National Assembly will determine the place of its sitting, and will settle the number and importance of the military forces for its defence, and have them at its order.

Art. 33. Representatives are always free to be reëlected.

Art. 34. The members of the Assembly are the representatives, not of the Department which elected them, but of all France.

Art. 35. They cannot receive instructions to be binding on them.

Art. 36. Their persons are inviolable. They cannot be tried, accused, nor condemned, at any time, for opinions uttered within the Assembly, excepting when caught in the very act.

Art. 37. They cannot be arrested for criminal offences, nor prosecuted, until after permission granted by the Assembly. In an arrest on the very act, the matter shall immediately be referred to the Assembly, which shall authorize or refuse the continuation of the prosecution. The above to apply also to the case of citizens imprisoned being made representatives.

Art. 38. Every representative is to receive a remuneration, which he must not refuse.

Art. 39. The sittings of the Assembly are to be public. Nevertheless, the Assembly may form itself into a secret committee, on the call of a number of representatives, as settled by the rules. Each member has the right of introducing bills according to the forms and rules.

Art. 40. The presence of half the members and one over is necessary to form a quorum.

Art. 41. No bill (except in case of emergency) shall be passed till after it has undergone three different readings, at intervals of not less than five days between each reading.

Art. 42. Every proposition claiming urgency or haste must be preceded by a report of motives. If the Assembly is of opinion to accede to the proposition, it will fix the time when the report upon the necessity of the case will be presented. On this report, if the Assembly admits the necessity of haste, it will fix the time of the debate. If the Assembly decides against the urgency of the case, the bill will have to go through the usual course.

OBITUARY ELOQUENCE.

A correspondent of the Burlington Free Press has furnished to that journal the following verbatim report of a funeral discourse, which he says he heard delivered in the Florida House of Representatives. The duty of making it was voluntarily assumed, and even insisted on by the Speaker, to the no small wonder of the House, his utter incompetence being notorious:

"Mr. Speaker; Sir, our fellow citizen, Mr. Silas Higgins, who was lately a member of this branch of the Legislature, is dead, and he died yesterday forenoon. He had the brown creators, (bronchitis he meant, I suppose,) and was an uncommon individual. His character was good up to the time of his death, and he never lost his voice. He was fifty-six years old, and was taken sick at his boarding-house before he died, where board can be had at a dollar and seventy-five a week, washing and lights included. He was an ingenious *creatur*, and in the early part of his life had a father and mother He was an officer in our State militia since the last war, and was brave and polite; and his uncle, Timothy Higgins, belonged to the Revolutionary war, and was commissioned as Lieutenant by General Washington, first President and commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, who died at Mount Vernon, deeply lamented by a large circle of friends, on the 14th December, 1799, or thereabout, and was buried soon after his death, with military honors, and several guns were burst in firing salutes.

Sir, Mr. Speaker, General Washington presided over the great continental Sanhedrim and political meeting that formed our Constitution, and he was indeed a great man. He was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, and, though he was in favor of the United States Bank, he was a friend of education, and from what he said in his farewell address, I have no doubt he would have voted for the tariff of 1846, if he had been alive and hadn't died some time beforehand. His death was considered at the time rather a premature, on account of its being brought on by an ordinary cold.

Now, Mr. Speaker, such being the character of General Washington, I motion that we wear crape around the left arm of this Legislature, and adjourn till to-morrow morning as an emblem of our respects for the memory of S. Higgins, who is dead, and died of the *brown creators* yesterday in the forenoon.

COMMISSION STORE.

WM. GUNNISON, *General Commission Merchant*, 101 *Bowly's Wharf, Baltimore, Md.* Dec. 23.—1y

PRINTERS' MATERIALS.

TYPE FOUNDRY.—The subscribers have taken the Type Foundry, No. 59 Gold street, and will continue the business heretofore conducted by Robert Taylor. They will attend to all orders they may receive with punctuality and despatch. All the Type manufactured by them will be hand cast, and they will furnish all kinds of Printers' Materials of the best quality.

Mr. J. A. T. Overend is still employed in superintending the manufacturing department.

WHITING & TAYLOR,
Successors to Robert Taylor, corner of Gold and Ann streets, New York.
Charles Whiting. } *Theodore Taylor.* } Jan. 20.—tf

GLASCOE, HENRY, & WEBB,

COTTON and Tobacco Factors; Dealers in Blooms, Pig Iron, Pig Lead, Bagging and Rope, &c.; Commission and Forwarding—Columbia street, next to Broadway Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

J. S. GLASCOE.
C. B. HENRY.
June 8.—1y E. WEBB.

NO FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

A SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENT in favor of withdrawing fellowship from Churches and Ecclesiastical Bodies tolerating Slaveholding among them, by Rev. Silas McKeen, of Bradford, Vermont, is the title of a tract of 40 pages, just published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at their Depository in New York. Price—$2.50 a hundred; single copy, 3 cents.

WILLIAM HARNED, Agent,
April 20. 61 John street, New York.

LAW OFFICE, COLUMBUS, O.

WILLIAM B. JARVIS, Jun., *Attorney and Counsellor at Law*, Columbus, Ohio. Office up stairs in Herencourt's Building, between American Hotel and Neil House. Business connected with the profession, of all kinds, punctually attended to. Jan. 28.

LAW OFFICE, CINCINNATI.

BIRNEY & SHIELDS, Attorneys at Law, corner of Main and Court streets, Cincinnati.

JAMES BIRNEY, Notary Public and Commissioner to take acknowledgments of deeds and depositions for the States of Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan, New Hampshire, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, New York, and Arkansas.
Jan. 6.—tf

BOSTON PIANO FORTE MANUFACTORY.

THE subscribers having removed from No. 402 and 406, (where they have been located for about twenty years past,) to their new manufactory. No. 400, Washington street, Boston, will continue to manufacture Piano Fortes of every description. They have the exclusive right for manufacturing Coleman's patent Æolian Attachment in Massachusetts, with the right to vend in all parts of the country.

Every instrument purchased as above is warranted to give entire satisfaction, or the purchase money will be refunded. Any orders by mail executed at as low prices as if the purchaser were present, and warranted as above.

T. GILBERT & CO.
Firm—T. Gilbert and Wm. H. Jameson. Aug. 24.—10m

JUST PUBLISHED,

A NEW Anti-Slavery Work, entitled *The Black Code of the District of Columbia*, in force September 1st, 1848; by Worthington G. Snethen, Counsellor at Law, Washington City. Published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at No. 61 John street, New York, by WILLIAM HARNED, Publishing Agent. Price, 25 cents per copy, and 25 per cent. discount to booksellers—invariably cash.

☞ The author of the present work has nearly completed, for publication, the *Black Code* of each of the States in the Union. That of Maryland will next make its appearance.

New York, Oct. 19, 1848.

LARD FOR OIL.

LARD WANTED.—Cash paid for corn, mast, and slop-fed Lard. Apply to
THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

FARM FOR SALE.

FOR SALE, a Farm, half a mile from, and commanding an excellent view of, the flourishing town of Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio, containing eighty acres, well improved. It has a large brick house, two frame barns, an orchard of grafted fruit trees, an inexhaustible supply of the best of soft water in wells and springs, a well of soft water in the kitchen. House and yard well shaded with trees. A healthy and beautiful country seat. JONAS D. CATTELL,
Feb. 3.—tf Salem, Ohio.

LAW OFFICE, CHICAGO.

CALVIN DE WOLF, Attorney and Counsellor, Telegraph Buildings, Clark street, Chicago, Illinois. Particular attention paid to collections.

Terms of Court, Cook County, Illinois.

County court—first Monday in February, May, and October.

Circuit court—second Monday in June and November.

☞ Demands for suit should be on hand twenty days before the first day of each term. Feb. 3.—1 yr. gr.

LARD OIL.

IMPROVED LARD OIL.—Lard Oil of the finest quality, equal to sperm for combustion, also for machinery and woollens, being manufactured without acids, can always be purchased and shipped in strong barrels, prepared expressly to prevent leakage. Orders received and executed for the Lake, Atlantic, and Southern cities, also for the West Indies and Canadas. Apply to
THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

OFFICE FOR PATENTS.

P. H. WATSON, Attorney and Solicitor of Patents, *Washington, D. C.*, prepares Specifications and Drawings, and solicits Letters Patent for new inventions, in this country and Europe, and transacts with promptness, and for a moderate fee, all business belonging to his profession.

A comprehensive experience as a *practical Mechanic* enables him readily to understand the nature of an invention from a rough drawing and description, which being sent to him by letter, the Inventor may be informed whether his invention be patentable, and how to proceed to obtain a patent without the expense and trouble of coming in person to Washington.

A residence near the Patent Office, where he can at all times have access to Models, Drawings, Records, and other sources of information that do not exist elsewhere, enables him to furnish more full and reliable information, to draw up specifications that will more *completely* secure the rights of the inventor, and to transact business, in general, with greater accuracy and dispatch than could possibly be done, were he less favorably located.

Models can be sent with entire safety through the Express. For evidence of his competency and integrity, he would respectfully refer to all those for whom he has transacted business.

Letters must be post paid.
Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.
Oct. 26.—*tjl

NEW YORK READING ROOM.

FREE READING ROOM at the Publication Office and Depository of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, No. 61 John street, New York.—The advantages and accommodations of this establishment (superior to any other of the kind in this country) are positively free to all. In addition to all the Liberty party newspapers now published, will be found a variety of others, Anti-Slavery, *favorable*, and Pro-Slavery, comprising, in all, files of nearly one hundred weekly, semi-monthly, and monthly periodicals, published in nineteen of the United States, in Canada, Great Britain, France, and Holland. A special invitation is extended to friends and strangers visiting New York, to spend their leisure time in looking over this extensive collection of useful information.

The National Era is received at the Reading Room, from Washington, by the earliest mail, and single copies may be purchased every Friday morning.

Nov. 11. WILLIAM HARNED, Office Agent.

ERIE COUNTY NURSERY—BUFFALO, N. Y.

FRUIT TREES, &c.—This old establishment continues to furnish every desirable variety of Fruit and Ornamental Trees, Flowering Shrubs, Roses, Hardy Herbaceous and Greenhouse Plants, at greatly reduced prices.

Our trees are perfectly hardy, vigorous, and thrifty, and are well adapted to the climate of the South and West; and situated as our Nursery is, at one end of the great Lake route, we are enabled to ship trees, at the earliest moment practicable, to any port on the Lakes, without risk of detention on the way—a fact worthy of consideration to purchasers.

Trees, Plants, &c., will be labelled and properly packed in bundles or boxes, and forwarded agreeably to order.

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Orders accompanied by a remittance or satisfactory reference will meet with prompt attention.

Catalogues furnished gratis, on application.

A. BRYANT & SONS.
Buffalo, August, 1848. Aug. 24.—3m

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY.

BY LYSANDER SPOONER. Parts 1st and 2d. Published by Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill, Boston; and for sale, at the publisher's prices, at the Depository of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, New York. Price, 25 cents each part, or 50 cents bound together.

WILLIAM HARNED, Agent,
August 10.—1am 61 John street.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

☞ The Publishers of the Living Age annex a Prospectus of that work, and solicit to it the attention of the readers of the National Era. Those who wish to accomplish much in their generation must take a large view of what is passing around them—they must look over the whole of the age they live in.

PROSPECTUS.

☞ This work is conducted in the spirit of Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature, (which was favorably received by the public for twenty years,) but as it is twice as large and appears so often, we not only give spirit and freshness to it by many things which were excluded by a month's delay, but, while thus extending our scope and gathering a greater and more attractive variety, are able so to increase the solid and substantial part of our literary, historical, and political harvest, as fully to satisfy the wants of the American reader.

The elaborate and stately Essays of the *Edinburgh, Quarterly*, and other Reviews; and *Blackwood's* noble criticisms on Poetry, his keen political Commentaries, highly wrought tales, and vivid descriptions of rural and mountain scenery; and the contributions to Literature, History, and Common Life, by the sagacious *Spectator*, the sparkling *Examiner*, the judicious *Athenæum*, the busy and industrious *Literary Gazette*, the sensible and comprehensive *Britannia*, the sober and respectable *Christian Observer*—these are intermixed with the Military and Naval reminiscences of the *United Service*, and with the best articles of the *Dublin University, New Monthly, Fraser's, Tait's, Ainsworth's, Hood's*, and *Sporting Magazines*, and of *Chambers's* admirable *Journal*. We do not consider it beneath our dignity to borrow wit and wisdom from *Punch*; and, when we think it good enough, make use of the thunder of *The Times*. We shall increase our variety by importations from the continent of Europe, and from the new growth of the British colonies.

The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa, into our neighborhood, and will greatly multiply our connections, as merchants, travellers, and politicians, with all parts of the world; so that much more than ever it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and changes of foreign countries. And this not only because of their nearer connection with ourselves, but because the nations seem to be hastening, through a rapid process of change, to some new state of things, which the merely political prophet cannot compute or foresee.

Geographical Discoveries, the progress of Colonization (which is extending over the whole world,) and Voyages and Travels, will be favorite matter for our selections; and, in general, we shall systematically and very fully acquaint our readers with the great department of Foreign affairs, without entirely neglecting our own.

While we aspire to make the *Living Age* desirable to all who wish to keep themselves informed of the rapid progress of *the movement*—to Statesmen, Divines, Lawyers, and Physicians—to men of business and men of leisure—it is still a stronger object to make it attractive and useful to their wives and children. We believe that we can thus do some good in our day and generation; and hope to make the work indispensable in every well-informed family. We say *indispensable*, because in this day of cheap literature it is not possible to guard against the influx of what is bad in taste and vicious in morals, in any other way than by furnishing a sufficient supply of a healthy character. The mental and moral appetite *must* be gratified.

We hope that, by "*by winnowing the wheat from the chaff*," by providing abundantly for the imagination, and by a large collection of Biography, Voyages and Travels, History, and more solid matter, we may produce a work which shall be popular, while at the same time it will aspire to raise the standard of public taste.

TERMS.

The LIVING AGE is published every Saturday, by E. Littell & Co., corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets, Boston Price, twelve and a half cents a number, or six dollars a year, in advance. Remittances for any period will be thankfully received and promptly attended to.

To insure regularity in mailing the work, orders should be addressed to the *office of publication*, as above.

Clubs, paying a year in advance, will be supplied as follows:

Four copies for	$20
Nine copies for	$40
Twelve copies for	$50

Complete sets, in fifteen volumes, to the end of 1847, handsomely bound, and packed in neat boxes, are for sale at thirty dollars.

Any volume may be had separately at two dollars, bound or a dollar and a half in numbers.

Any number may be had for twelve and a half cents; and it may be worth while for subscribers or purchasers to complete any broken volumes they may have, and thus greatly enhance their value.

AGENCIES.

We are desirous of making arrangements, in all parts of North America, for increasing the circulation of this work; and for doing this, a liberal commission will be allowed to gentlemen who will interest themselves in the business. And we will gladly correspond on this subject with any agent who will send us undoubted references.

POSTAGE.

When sent with the cover on, the Living Age consists of three sheets, and is rated as a pamphlet, at four and a half cents. But when sent without the cover, it comes within the definition of a newspaper given in the law, and cannot legally be charged with more than newspaper postage, one and a half cents. We add the definition alluded to:

A newspaper is "any printed publication, issued in numbers, consisting of not more than two sheets, and published at short stated intervals of not more than one month, conveying intelligence of passing events."

MONTHLY PARTS.

For such as prefer it in that form, the Living Age is put up in Monthly Parts, containing four or five weekly numbers. In this shape it shows to great advantage in comparison with other works, containing in *each part* double the matter of any of the Quarterlies. But we recommend the weekly numbers, as fresher and fuller of life. Postage on the Monthly part is about fourteen cents. The *volumes* are published quarterly, each volume containing as much matter as a Quarterly Review gives in eighteen months.

☞ Published at six dollars a year, by
E. LITTELL & CO., *Boston*.

TEMPERANCE.

BEERS'S TEMPERANCE HOTEL, *Third street, north of Pennsylvania avenue, and near the Railroad Depot, Washington City. Prices to suit the times.* April 29—tf

THE FREE SOIL READING ROOM AND HEADQUARTERS,

AT the southwest corner of Sixth and Carpenter streets, above Chesnut, Philadelphia, is now open for the Public, and will continue so from 8 A. M. to 10 P. M., each day, during the campaign.

The arrangements for the receipt of papers are not yet entirely complete, so that but a small proportion of those which are expected in a few days have been received. The Committee have made arrangements for the receipt of all the prominent Free Soil papers of the Union, and some both of neutral and opposite politics will be upon the files. Editors and publishers of Free Soil papers who have not been written to by the Committee, and who wish to avail themselves of the excellent opportunity afforded of displaying their sheets, where great good may be done to the cause by throwing their reading matter before the Public, can do so by mailing copies to the Free Soil Reading Room, Philadelphia.

Subscription lists to such papers as may desire it will be kept open at the Room

By order of the Committee. Oct. 19.

BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL.

UNDER the direction of Miss A. G. Snow and E. J. Thompson, Summer street, corner of Schuylkill Sixth street, opposite the Church, Philadelphia.

TERMS PER QUARTER.

Junior Class.—Spelling, Reading, Writing, Geography, History, Arithmetic, and the Elements of Philosophy and Physiology—from $5 to $7.

Intermediate Class.—Continuation of the above, with French, Grammar, Composition, Botany, Natural History, Latin, and Drawing—from $8 to $12.

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EXTRAS

Piano Forte, $10 to $20 per quarter.
Harp, $15 to $25 per quarter.
Guitar, $10 to $15 per quarter.
Painting in Water Colors, $5 to $10 per quarter.
Painting in Oil Colors, $10 to $15 per quarter.
The Italian, Spanish, and German Languages, each, $5 per quarter.
The higher branches of mathematics $10 per quarter.
Board and Tuition, $40 to $60 per quarter.
Fuel for the season, $2.

The school will reopen on the 1st of September. Quarters of eleven weeks.

Pupils will be charged only from the time they commence their studies.

Young ladies, not members of the school, may receive instruction in any of the above branches.

REFERENCES.

Rev. Dr. Ducachet; Rev. Kingston Goddard; Rev. N. S. Harris; Matthew L. Bevan, Esq.; Hon. John Swift, mayor of Philadelphia; Professor Dunglison, of Jefferson College; Hon. Edmund Burke, Washington, D. C.; Miss Mary Lyon, Principal of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, South Hadley, Mass.

Philadelphia, August, 1848. Aug. 24.—o

GLENHAVEN WATER CURE.

THIS new and commodious establishment for the treatment, by Water, of Disease, is open to receive Patients. It is situated at the head of Skaneateles Lake, ten miles north of Homer, and two and a half miles from the village of Scott, in the State of New York. The house is large, commodious, and newly built. The springs are four in number, three of which rise on the mountain, on the west side of the Lake, six hundred feet above its level. They are pure, soft, very cold, and abundant. The scenery is very romantic, and the situation, for the invalid, delightfully inviting. Dr. S. O. Gleason and lady have charge of the medical department, and will give their attention exclusively to those seeking health at the "Cure." James C. Jackson and wife take charge of the business and home department; and all letters having reference to business, or to admission, should be addressed to Mr. Jackson, and the postage paid, when they will receive due attention. A general supervision of the means of comfort and the welfare of the patients is in the hands of a young lady who has been greatly benefited under the hydropathic treatment. We can accommodate nicely, for the winter, some fifteen or twenty patients. Our sitting room and dining hall are spacious, and front the Lake. Those wishing to try the Water treatment had better apply without delay, as in most cases winter treatment is equally successful with summer treatment, and in many cases greatly superior as a means of cure; and an early application will secure the best opportunities for location as regards rooms.

TERMS.—Five dollars per week, payable weekly. Patients wishing fire other than in the sitting room, can have one in their rooms, but will be charged each one dollar per week extra. Those wishing to occupy rooms singly, and have fire in them, will pay ten dollars per week, payable weekly. Washing and ironing in the institution, fifty cents per dozen pieces. Each patient must have one linen sheet a yard and a half square, two woollen blankets, three cotton comfortables, four towels, and old linen for bandages.

JACKSON, GLEASON, & CO.
Glenhaven, December 1, 1847. April 6.

JUST PUBLISHED,

POSITION and Duties of the North with regard to Slavery, by Andrew P. Peabody. Reprinted from the Christian Examiner of July, 1843. An interesting and neat covered pamphlet of 22 pages. Price, 10 cents single, $1 per dozen. For sale at the Depository, 61 John street, by
Feb. 2. WILLIAM HARNED.

LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1849,

JUST published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at their Depository at the following rates:

For one thousand copies	$25.00
For one hundred copies	3.00
For one dozen copies	50
For a single copy	6

It is earnestly hoped that the friends of Liberty throughout the country will do all that they can to give this valuable work an extensive circulation. It has been carefully prepared, with special reference to the present highly important position of public affairs, and is eminently calculated for the diffusion of valuable information on the great question of Slavery, which now engages the attention of our entire nation.

Orders, enclosing the cash, will be promptly executed, and should be addressed to the Publishing Agent,
WILLIAM HARNED,
No. 61 John street, New York.

☞ Please be particular to designate the mode of conveyance by which the Almanacs are to be sent. Aug. 24—tf

BRITISH PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

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REPUBLICATION OF
THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW,
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THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW,
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The above Periodicals are reprinted in New York, immediately on their arrival by the British steamers, in a beautiful clear type, on fine white paper, and are faithful copies of the originals—*Blackwood's Magazine* being an exact fac-simile of the Edinburgh edition.

They embrace the views of the three great parties in England—Tory, Whig, and Radical. "Blackwood" and the "London Quarterly" are Tory, the "Edinburgh Review" Whig, and the "Westminster Review" Radical. The "North British Review" is more of a religious character, having been originally edited by Dr. Chalmers, and now, since his death, being conducted by his son-in-law, Dr. Hanna, associated with Sir David Brewster. Its literary character is of the very highest order.

PRICES FOR 1848, (if subscribed for early.)

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Consisting of back volumes of the following valuable works, viz:
Bentley's Miscellany.
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Any one subscribing to Blackwood, or to one of the Reviews, at $3 a year, or to any two of the periodicals at $5, will receive, gratis, one volume of any of the premiums above named.

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A subscriber to Blackwood and three Reviews at $9 a year, or to the four Reviews and Blackwood, at $10, will receive three premium volumes.

☞ Please be particular in naming the premiums desired and the works subscribed for.

CLUBBING.

Four copies of any or any of the above works will be sent to one address, on payment of the regular subscription for three, the fourth copy being gratis.

☞ No premiums will be given where the above allowance is made to clubs, nor will premiums in any case be furnished, unless the subscription is paid in full to the publishers, without recourse to an agent.

EARLY COPIES.

A late arrangement with the British publishers of Blackwood's Magazine secures to us early sheets of that work, by which we shall be able to place the entire number in the hands of subscribers before any portion of it can be reprinted in any of the American journals. For this and other advantages secured to our subscribers, we pay so large a consideration, that we may be compelled to raise the price of the Magazine. Therefore, we repeat, "subscribe early, while the price is low."

Remittances and communications should be always addressed, postpaid or franked, to the publishers,
LEONARD SCOTT & CO.,
March 23. 79 Fulton street, New York.

JUDGE JAY'S LETTER TO BISHOP IVES.

A LETTER to the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina; occasioned by his late Address to the Convention of his Diocese. By WILLIAM JAY. Third edition.

The numerous readers of this most excellent and interesting letter, published in the National Era in 1847, will be pleased to know that it has been handsomely stereotyped, under the direction of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and is now for sale at $2.40 per hundred, or three cents single.

Orders, accompanied by the cash, and directing by what conveyance they may be forwarded, will be promptly executed by WILLIAM HARNED,
April 13. 61 John Street, New York.

DEBATES IN CONGRESS ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY,

CONTAINING the entire debate in the Senate on Mr. Hale's bill for the Protection of Property in the District of Columbia, (growing out of the attack of the mob on the office of the National Era, in April last;) the speeches of Messrs. Tuck and Giddings, in the House of Representatives, on the bill providing for payment for a slave who escaped from his master during the last war with Great Britain, and is supposed to have taken refuge on board a British vessel of war; speeches of Messrs. Hale, Niles, and Dix, in the Senate, on the bill to establish a Territorial Government in Oregon; and Mr. Corwin's great speech on the Compromise Bill.

The above make a pamphlet of 64 pages, large octavo, in small type. Price—$4 per hundred; single copies, 6 cents. For sale by BUELL & BLANCHARD,
Aug. 17. Office of the National Era, Washington.

DAGUERREOTYPES.

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New York, 251 Broadway; Philadelphia, 136 Chesnut street; Boston, 75 Court and 58 Hanover streets; Baltimore, 205 Baltimore street; Washington, Pennsylvania avenue; Petersburg, Virginia, Mechanics' Hall; Cincinnati, Fourth and Walnut, and 176 Main street; Saratoga Springs, Broadway; Paris, 127 Vieille Rue du Temple; Liverpool, 32 Church street. Jan. 7.

LAW OFFICE, SYRACUSE, N. Y.

SPENCER & NORTH, *Attorneys and Counsellors at Law*, Syracuse, New York.
Office, Standard Buildings. ISRAEL S. SPENCER.
Jan. 28.—tf JOHN W. NORTH